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**Ethnicity Maintenance: Its Contingent Nature and Impact on
Health.
Case Studies of Second Generation Poles in the West Midlands
(UK) and South Michigan (US)**

VOL. 1

by

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VOLUME ONE

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“Material from the *Health and Lifestyle Survey, 1984-1985 (HALS1)*, and the *General Household Survey* datasets, is Crown Copyright; has been made available by the Office for National Statistics through the data Archive and has been used by permission. Neither the ONS nor the Data Archive bear any responsibility for the analysis or interpretation of the data reported here.”

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ABSTRACT

OBJECTIVES

My topic of research is a comparative study of ethnicity and (selected) health patterns among second generation Poles (and to a lesser extent, first generation Poles), looked at by means of two case studies, one in the UK and one in the USA. I examine the level of ethnicity (cultural) maintenance in a white - assumed assimilated - minority ethnic group in two specific geographic locations and therefore the context specific nature of ethnicity maintenance. I also examine whether it is possible to assess the impact of such maintenance on their personal health, well-being, and quality of life.

METHODS

My research design includes a (smaller, post WWII) selection of first generation UK and USA Polish respondents who act as point of reference, and allow me to define within this study, the parameters of the cultural 'nuances' in question. My design allows for the assessment of any evidence of ethnic self-identity and a common sub-cultural identity, as well as any differences between the two groups of respondents in relation to their respective degrees of co-operation, and accommodation problems, with host groups.

The collection of data is operationalized via multiple methods, including questionnaires. I employ the use of qualitative, quantitative, and ethnographic elements, thus allowing for multidimensional analysis of selected issues. Comparisons are made with extant data from both the host (indigenous) communities.

RESULTS/CONCLUSION

Empirical results bore out variations in the degree of maintained ethnic lifestyles, across a range of social groups. Some of the differences can be explained by the different environments (UK and USA), as well as the diasporic nature of the first generation's immigration experiences. Qualitative and ethnographic evidence was found to be crucial in explaining the various affective ethnic nuances that quantitative methods are unable to reveal, such as the pervasive impact that the first generation's diasporic experiences, as well as the nature of the Polish exiled community, have had on the second generation, both in the UK and the USA, and their respective qualities of life. This study has indicated that maintaining one's ethnic roots can for these individuals be just as problematic, although in differing ways, as for members of non-white ethnic minorities.

ABBREVIATIONS MOST COMMONLY USED

Polonia / Polonian denotes worldwide Polish émigré settlements.

PRC denotes 'Polish Resettlement Corps'.

DP denotes 'Displaced Person', having official refugee status.

BPP denotes 'both parent Polish' second-generation respondents

PMO denotes 'Polish mother only' second-generation respondents

PFO denotes 'Polish father only' second-generation respondents

SMR denotes 'Standard Mortality Ratio'. The SMR is defined as: 'a measure of relative mortality in a study population [perhaps regions or ethnic groups] compared to that in some standard population [in this case England & Wales]. The standardisation is for age and, if relevant, sex.' [My inserts] (Britton, 1990: 13).

Quotation citations will take the following forms:

1/ For first generation respondents:

UK *[or]* US 1st Gen No. 301/M *[or]* F,
denotes UK or US male or female

2/ For second generation respondents:

UK *[or]* US 2nd Gen No. 301/BPP/M *[or]* F
denotes the same as above, but also showing the sub-group

Use of the Term 'Maintainment'.

The reader will notice the use of this term throughout this thesis. Even though it is not in common use, I found it very helpful in putting across my meaning more clearly, when asking respondents about their patterns of maintaining their (various) ethnic traditions, because it is concise. It is a summary term, and conveyed precisely the following for me: the overall maintenance of a range of customs, spanning both secular and religious. Anthias' (1998) use of the term 'intersectionality' (convey a convergence or relationship of concepts), prompted me to use a term which was more fluid to work with rather than the variety of phrases one might otherwise use.

INTRODUCTION.

The examination of white minority ethnic groups within Western societies is almost conspicuous by its absence within the everyday remit of a social science research agenda¹. Groups of white immigrants are assumed to assimilate with greater willingness and ease than those immigrant groups whose members have emigrated from various parts of the 'third world', particularly from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. Apparent physical differences such as skin colour, historical mistreatment and abuse, a marginal economic position in the labour market, and poor health (among immigrants from a non-European background), often constitute the basis of justification for the annual profusion of research into the position of non-white minority ethnic groups within white host societies (Hickman, 1995).

When researching American archives and literatures on 'ethnicity' per se, very much like Novak (1997: 407), I also found that most of the materials accessed were indeed 'increasingly fixed on the minorities of color', with searches 'far more likely to lead me to information on Indians, Latinos, or blacks than on Norwegians, Poles, the Irish or Greeks'. The same is in evidence when searching British work on ethnicity (Hickman, 1995).

This researcher is not in dispute with such research, as the evidence is overwhelming in the widespread discrimination which such minority groups

¹ I acknowledge the hard work done by such sociologists as Mary Hickman etc. on their work re the Irish, see Hickman, 1996, 1997; Lloyd, 1995. However, even with recognition by the Commission for Racial Equality, by Hickman's own admission, there is still some way to go (Hickman, 1997).

have had to endure historically, and sadly evidence also suggests that there is no major sign of abatement (Anthias & Yuval-Davies, 1992; Ahmed, 1993,1996; Smaje, 1995). Moreover, I have been able to use the established data regarding non-white groups as a 'springboard', to illustrate the lack of research in the area of white minority groups, as well as charting any useful research parallels between such data and this, my current research.

The main area of research undertaken here was a comparative study of ethnicity and selected health patterns amongst first and second generation Poles in the UK and the USA. I was particularly interested in looking at American Poles in order that I might examine how the cultural specificity of the Poles as an ethnic group in America had developed over time, and how this would differ, if at all, in comparison with a more recently established Polish ethnic community.

This was operationalized by applying a case study approach, using 'typical cases' as both research sites (Blaikie, 2000, p.222). The Poles in question are the first generation who arrived here as a result of WWII, and their offspring, the second generation. The main objectives were to test for the presence of the following concepts, and therefore to establish the existence of: status competition; any ethnic discrimination; a common sub-cultural identity and to identify ethnic self-identity; and to examine the level of ethnicity (cultural) maintenance in a white - assumed assimilated – minority ethnic group. To a lesser extent, another aim was to look for any relationship between health and ethnicity and at the impact of such maintenance within both the respondents' domestic and formal domains on their personal health and well-being. The research was carried out

using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research tools.

One of my endeavours here was to demonstrate that white minority immigrants, in their struggles to adapt *their* ethnic beliefs and faith within the demands of respective host communities, suffered in some cases as much as, if not more than, non-white ethnic groups during their harsh passage of ‘accommodation’² (Patterson, 1963:14). This is evident not just as one might expect, at first generation level, but also to some degree across generations (Kelleher & Hillier, 1996; Radley, 1994). In addition, by constructing the first socio-historical profile of this British white minority ethnic group's overall composition, this research enables the facilitation of subsequent comparisons (of other white minority ethnic groups) with extant data.

The data generated have bolstered my future interest in studying at greater length (and amongst other things), the possible effects that maintaining a specific kind of lifestyle may have, in the long-term, on a larger section of this ethnic population. It is my intention that the data which I have collected, namely data corresponding to reasonably representative samples of first and second generation Poles will be my starting point. As far as I am aware there has been no research done of a comparative nature utilising a combination of quantitative and qualitative research tools to construct data-sets relating to both target populations; data from these sizable case studies may then be directly compared with the characteristics of the host societies. Within the general field of research

² Accommodation is viewed as the first stage of ‘absorption’ of a migrant group into the host society, Patterson (1963: 14). I will be discussing this in greater detail in the literature section, in the following chapter.

on Polish migrations undertaken in both the USA and the UK, this type of comparative study is believed to be the first of its kind³.

The UK component, as the primary base (site) for comparison, constituted the larger of the two case studies. The fieldwork for the UK component was carried out in the Midlands, and the principal location was the city of Coventry and its environs. Additional respondents were also obtained from surrounding areas such as Leamington Spa, and Rugby.

The US sample was originally planned to be collated exclusively from within a Polish enclave in the town of Hamtramck, which is an outlying district of Detroit in Michigan, known as the Great Lakes region of North America. This smaller American sample, derived from an entirely different non-European environment, was to have been located within an area with a sizeable proportion of ethnic Poles, and ostensibly more pluralistic in its culture, where both these aspects (of this society) may have acted as facilitating factors in the accommodation of my USA sample of first generation Poles, as well as affecting the subsequent ethnic orientation and (US specific) self-identity of the second generation respondents.

This location grid had to be expanded, in order to take into account the levels of economic out-migration which are commonly a feature of American occupational lifestyles. The demographics of the local Polish population which I

³ Although it is not really possible to definitively say that there is no work of this nature already in existence, to my knowledge this is the case. I have conducted copious searches throughout this research here in the UK, as well as whilst in the US.

planned to access tended towards blue collar manual, with a high proportion of its members either retired or near retirement. In my efforts to try to achieve a range rather than a specific type of respondent in the US sample, I noticed that there seemed to be evidence of several directional destinations for flows of Polish out-migration, and I was thus able to find additional suitable second generation candidates in Warren, (who were 8 miles north east of Hamtramck), and additional first and second generation respondents in Ann Arbor (30 miles east of Hamtramck). Both sites having sizeable levels of established Polish communities. Distance really is a relative concept, and this is particularly evidenced by the distances travelled by Americans on a daily basis. I discuss this in detail in relation to all the associated fieldwork problems in Chapter Three.

Although I shall be covering this fully later in Chapter Two, it is necessary to introduce briefly at this stage the various waves of migrants in question and their differing ideological orientations. For the purposes of illustration, I shall deal with just the Polish migratory waves to the UK at present. When using the term wave the understanding is that sizeable groups of foreigners or migrant cohorts (Erdmans, 1998) arrive to the host country within a specific time period, with the expectation of staying usually for the mid to long-term, and sharing the same ideological basis for the migration (Sword, 1989). The catalyst for each migration is usually generated by the same 'push' or 'pull' factor⁴ (Cohen, 1996). I personally prefer to use the term wave (rather of for example cohort), as I believe that it is more accurate in portraying the type of movement into the

⁴ I shall be discussing the various explanatory models of migration in Chapter One.

country. This wave happened over a period of time, starting in the mid 1940's to the mid 1950's. Although there were some Poles known to be living in the UK some while before the first wave arrived, these were extremely small in number. The first major wave of Poles which arrived in Britain was a mixture of army personnel and civilians, directly as a result of the Second World War. The second wave was not so dramatic in terms of numbers, and occurred over a longer period of time than the first wave, during the early 1960's to the mid 1970's. The third and last wave to date, was post-Solidarity, when freedom of movement was no longer restricted. Of course, there is always some level of movement which does not fall within these formal kinds of classifications.

It is easy to appreciate, even at a basic level, the differences between this large assortment of Polish immigrants. The first wave, my first generation respondents, were familiar with the customs and language usage of a pre-war Poland. The second wave, had already been subjected to a Communistic regime, which (my respondents, both first and second generation believed) coloured their outlook in all things (Sword, 1982: 212). The third wave was a product of that militaristic regime, and as far removed in *their* outlook and socialisation from Polish émigré communities as their British Polish counterparts, my primary respondents, second generation Poles, were from *their* Polish born socialisation and philosophy.

There is little surprise therefore, that I found there to be some hostility between those who had arrived more recently as economic immigrants (Kay & Miles, 1992), and my respondent group, composed of post Second World War political

refugees, Displaced Persons (DP's), and their respective offspring. The separate lives which were led, regardless of (shared) social class, by the various 'waves' of Poles and their offspring, relative to other Poles as well as the distinctly similar evolution of the target communities within different host societies, were just some of the commonalties I found in this study of two different immigrant communities – those within the UK and the USA - who historically, share the same ethnic heritage.

The study of Polish immigrant communities or 'Polonia'⁵ is an immensely complex one. Such settlements⁶ can be composed of any number of 'waves', comprising (economic) migrants, exiles, political refugees and such like. However, these individuals from each of these waves staunchly adhere to their own experiences as Poles, and try to reconstruct their respective new lives from their former ones, drawing on their own respective frames of reference. In this way my first generation respondents have strived to make sense of their lives removed from Poland, and their children's lives as second generation Poles (in the UK and the USA).

For my first generation respondents, their existence was based on their synthesis as a group born out of a militaristic identity. Theirs was an entirely different situation to that of other major groups of immigrants arriving in the UK in the

⁵ The term 'Polonia' is used worldwide by Poles to differentiate between Polish immigrant communities abroad, and those living within them (Polonians), and Poles in Poland. I shall also be using it in this sense, throughout this thesis. It comes from the Latin *polanie*, meaning lowlands and /or field.

⁶ I use the term settlement here as used by Keith Sword (1982) to indicate that it is not a (contained) community as such, due to its geographically widespread nature.

post-war years. These Poles gained entry into the UK under the official banner of Polish combatants who were part of the Allied Forces, and entry was *only* granted to them if they had seen service with the Polish forces under British command. Nowadays, all the various waves endure very much the ‘salad-bowl’ notion of co-existence, sharing the same mother tongue, and perhaps the same geographical boundaries, but very little else. This is much more so in the case of my American component.

Before I present a chapter summary I wish to introduce some background information on pertinent aspects of Polish culture. First, it is necessary to clarify at the outset the Poles' post-war political position. The Poles' problems were compounded because the vast majority of refugees came from the eastern part of Poland, and this whole portion of their homeland was lost to Russia when new frontiers were conceived in 1945 at the Yalta Conference, giving Russia de facto control over Poland. As a result, at the end of the war there were no homes, land, possessions, and for most, no families for them to return to. Those serving in the Polish Armies and Allied forces, were at the end of the war seen to be enemies of the State by Russian government officials. Many had a price on their heads, and were destined for lifetime servitude, if they returned, and *if* they were spared. This upheaval and displacement for the Poles, was the latest in a long line of historical obstacles which Poles have come to consciously associate as part of their national persona in striving for independence. As a result, the Poles have become a fiercely nationalistic people (Davies, 1981, 1984; Znaniecka Lopata, 1976a, 1994; Pula, 1995; Sword, Davies & Ciechanowski, 1989; Wytrwal,

1977, 1982, 1992; Zamoyski, 1987).

This leads on to my second and final point of discussion before my chapter summaries, and this is in regard to Polish traits or characteristics. I mention just above about Poles being 'fiercely nationalistic'. It is believed that this trait, in concert with other Polish characteristics, has played a part in the way Polonians have, over the years, tried to adapt their customs to their environment. Other such traits according to Braitto (1988: 5) are 'individualistic, ..highly developed feelings of honor, and personal dignity, deep patriotism, bravery and national pride.....a tradition of religious tolerance', and a 'very high value was placed on education'.

The Catholic religion was considered of value above all others. But in her analysis, Braitto also indicates 'negative' traits such as in that the Poles are found to have been historically 'unable to organize collectively for any long term effects' (Braitto, 1988: 5), which is substantially borne out in Poland's strength in mounting short-term guerrilla type attacks to retain control of its lands etc.⁷, and the dismal history of the many failed attempts to strengthen Polonia's position politically in America, in this instance due to internal factionisation (Pula, 1995; Wytrwal, 1977; Kantowicz, 1975; Pienkos, 1978).

In fact, Braitto undermines her own argument by citing other sources (Szczepanski, 1970; Znaniecka Lopata, 1976a, 1992; Dyboski, 1950; Kutrzeba, 1945; Lednicki, 1944) which collectively claim that it was the very existence in

⁷ For comprehensive indicator of such campaigns see Norman Davies (1984, 1981).

men of a collective trait or "phenomenon" which was seen to have had an natural bearing on the fashioning of Poland's successes. So that values of faith, honor and freedom were linked to the enhancing of the country and a contribution to the eternal' (Brait, 1988: 5).

All this notwithstanding, the 'cynic' will naturally want to ask at least one of the two following questions: Are such things really quantifiable? and, might these characteristics apply to *any* group/race, if they so wish to ascribe them to themselves? Well, Cohen (1994:192) states the following:

..there can be no 'essential' national character because this inconceivably assumes a single genetic blueprint radically different to that of other nations, or a set of traumatic historical experiences that affected the whole nation uniformly.

However, I disagree with that statement, and primarily for two reasons. Firstly, the nature of any social reality, is that its existence depends on its continued re-enactment or reflexivity by social actors (Goffman, 1963). My first generation respondents when asked about the alleged Polish characteristics, were unanimous in their belief in them, *and* in their aspiring to uphold them. My second generation respondents were aware of these attributes also. These notions had survived to some extent through such repeated action. Smircich maintains therefore that 'human actors do not know or perceive the world, but know and perceive **their** world, through the medium of culturally specific frames of reference', and that their worlds and membership to them appear 'concrete and real' but only until they continue to create them (or maintain their cultural traditions) in this way (1983: 161, his emphasis).

My second point of contention with Cohen's statement is that, 'a set of traumatic experiences which affected the whole nation uniformly', *is precisely* what happened to the Poles, historically. (Such issues and associated thematic ramifications will be drawn out thoroughly in Chapter Four, under the main discussion).

Finally, as mentioned above, the centrality of religion in the lives of Poles per se, is also to be seen as a dominant feature in the lives of my respondents. Although the daily role of the church has itself shifted from its central position to more of a supplementary one, it remains however, the vista via which the social activity, traditions - religious or otherwise and any other ethnic artefact are still remembered and maintained in the lives of immigrant Poles, be they American or British. All these events, experiences, and beliefs are relevant to my respondents, in the decisions that they made which dramatically changed the course of their lives (Gula, 1993).

Overview of Chapters.

In the first part of Chapter One I describe Polish heritage. It became evident very early on in this research that it was necessary to inform the reader, albeit briefly, by including a portrayal of the (turbulent) history of Poland itself. Primarily, in order for this study to attempt to be as complete as possible, both these groups of respondents had to be placed in a socio-historical perspective. This is not simply an exercise in the repetition of historical fact. On the contrary, ethnic traits are known to be the blueprints (Cohen, 1994, 1997) which provide the framework by which sociologists can analyse and trace the maintenance and delicate evolution

of an immigrant group's cultural frames of reference, within the host society environment.

In the second part of Chapter One I present my discussion of the various literatures, where I first examine 'race' and ethnicity migration, and the notion of Diasporas, and where I put forward my notion of a diasporic framework, modified from established desiderata (Cohen, 1997), into which I place my respondents to demonstrate its relevance. I then look at the literature on health, and health and ethnicity, as well as looking at the marginal coverage given to white minority ethnic groups within these. Another main point of focus here is an attempt to set out the various difficulties that all migrants may to some degree inevitably face throughout their passage of accommodation (Furnham and Bochner, 1994; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990), as well as locating those specific differences relevant to my own respondents.

Chapter Two introduces the background to the Polish immigration waves to America. I start by discussing the various partitions Poland experienced historically, and the ensuing reasons for the various migrations. The remainder of this chapter deals with presenting the two national research locations. First, there is some historical background on the Polish immigrant settlement in the United Kingdom, followed by a description of the development of the UK settlement used in this research, from where my first generation sample was derived. Secondly, the remainder of the chapter is taken up with presenting the US (sample) group and its settlement in the USA. This is comprised of those Poles who went to America after WWII, and comprises my US first generation cohort.

As I mentioned earlier, the first major wave arrived in the UK as a result of World War Two (WWII), constituting my two major respondent groups, first generation Poles, and in greater numbers, their second generation offspring. In the former case, this 'wave' of immigrants were to become mostly classified as wartime refugees as an outcome of WWII. But in each case, their immediate experiences as foreigners arriving in the US and the UK were to be completely different from one another (Patterson, 1963; Zubrzycki, 1956).

When these 'British Poles' arrived in England, they found that unlike those Poles in the US sample, there were no developed Polish communities for them to settle in. In the UK, there was no existence of a society composed of several autonomous but interdependent ethnic groups. The Poles had no geographical mobility, and were restricted to the locales to which they were placed. They had little choice in their placement. They were made to register with local police officials once a week, and depending in which part of the country they were in, sometimes even more frequently (Sword *et al.*, 1989). At this time historically, the Poles in the UK were in a far worse position, socially and economically, than the coloured immigrants who were starting to arrive in large numbers post-war (Kay and Miles, 1992).

WWII veterans arriving in America were viewed as 'newcomers' (Pula, 1995) by those Poles already organised in a variety of ethnic formations, as Polish communities had by then been established for over 100 years (Znanińska Lopata, 1994, 1976a, 1996; Morawska, 1995; Wytrwal, 1969, 1977). There were a great number of thriving communities where these newcomers might be able to settle.

American Poles are currently in their twelfth generation, and as a result, the conditions for arriving Poles were really quite different than for those in the UK. There is also the pluralistic element in American culture to be considered. Pluralistic mechanisms at work in this multi-ethnic environment meant a more accommodating welcome for foreigners, as opposed to the welcome received by the British Poles (Zubrzycki, 1956).

As recently as 10th November 1997, the Polish community in America was petitioning the Clinton government to achieve their representation at the 'Hate Crime' conference in relation to the historically defamatory and negative (infamous 'Polack') stereotyping faced by American Polonia in the popular media. The Polish American respondents therefore, experienced these (and other) factors as part of a distinct set of circumstances (these will be discussed in full in Chapter Four), some good and some bad, upon their arrival, and throughout their lives in the United States.

Chapter Three is where the methodological process of my research is discussed. I have drawn upon a variety of research methods, namely quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic which I employed to generate data. In this chapter I set out the research process which resulted in my making the modifications necessary in order to pursue my lines of enquiry. For example, from the very beginning one of the main research themes was designed to study the effect of minority ethnic-host relations on personal well-being at the second generation level. I (incorrectly) assumed that by excluding the first generational element from the equation, as it

were, I would then be eliminating the influence of first generation personal migration trauma.

However, soon after commencing the research process, it became evident that adding a minority sample of first generation Pole respondents, both British and American, was not only necessary but indeed proved to be highly pivotal. This was so on a variety of levels, not the least of which was in the 'tracking' of intergenerational trait maintenance. Another important use was to be found in my being able to analyse how the effect of the primary ethnic-host relationship impacted, if at all, on the second generation perception of self identity at the sub-cultural level.

The results of my research are discussed in Chapter Four. I present my basic research findings, and compare these results with extant national statistics. These are then all drawn together, in an analysis which incorporates all three research methods used to collect the data. Here I will aim to show that the use of a multiplicity of methods can be instrumental in providing not only a wider explanation of (someone's) life history, in a way that coded responses rarely can (Tonkin, 1992); but, also expanding their responses into what was actually meant by my respondents contextually. As Tonkin maintains (1992: 132), 'personal identity, social identity, processes of identification and historical representations are so intertwined' that the process of obtaining these different facets of personal knowledge requires different if not opposing methods.

It is inevitable because of time and space restrictions, that only specific elements will be drawn from what has become a cornucopia of information on Poles, and used in the main analysis. I do propose however, to weave together those facets that I was unable to include here, with the presented data, at a later date.

Chapter Five brings us to the last part of this work, the main conclusions. Here I highlight the main findings, and summarise them, locating their relevance to the extant research on minority groups in the UK and US. These following questions will hopefully be resolved within this chapter:

- Do second generation Poles in the UK share the same kinds of maintained traditions as those in the US?
- Are there any broad similarities to be made between these two groups, or have they developed in distinctly different ways?
- Does the UK sample differ behaviourally, and in matters of health, to their US peers?

At the end of this final chapter, I make some suggestions for future directions for research such as this, to follow on to, as well as highlighting those specific research queries which presented more questions than answers, and would thus benefit from more in-depth analysis.

CHAPTER ONE.

Introduction.

A major element of this thesis is presented in this first chapter. This is because it draws together two of the main components of this study. First, a brief yet essential tour of Poland's history since her inception, which details the relevance of the various events which precipitated the country's many forced and unforced migrations, crucial to this particular thesis. Secondly, an expansive coverage of the literatures relevant to studies on 'Race and Ethnicity' and health, which are needed in order to determine their applicability to underpin this present study.

When considering the relationship between sociology and history, it is important to consider which elements of history are being examined. The formation of history is not a homogeneous process. Its content is variegated, in that history can be illustrated as much by ordinary people's experiences of particular eras, wars and partitions as by great events or even prominent people, which themselves impact on several societies at once (Braito, 1988; Zubrzycki, 1988). The historical development of an individual, namely his or her personal biography, is moulded by the various phenomena they experience via 'trials' throughout their lives, or take 'on board' via socio-cultural artefacts. This is why sociologists concerned with behaviour have long recognised that it is essential to look at behaviour in its social context (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-20).

By incorporating this historical component in my own (current) research, I am thus able to provide the social context for the attitudes felt and responses made by Poles, to their forced migration as recorded by Zubrzycki (1988), Gula (1993), Sword (1988), Szczepanski (1970) and Znaniecka Lopata (1994) etc. It is hardly surprising that these authors found overwhelmingly that the emotive response many Poles had in describing their 'crisis of status' from the last wave of Polish 'diaspora' was that of exiles. Gula (1993: xi) writes that the word exile has a 'very deep biblical meaning', and that it was used in an honourable way to describe emigrants from annihilated countries in the nineteenth century. On the Poles who settled in Britain 'after their long fight', Gula maintains that given their character (honour) and their circumstances (refugees), they 'definitely deserve the same title' (Gula, 1993).

Because I will be looking at several different kinds of extant literatures, I have divided their discussion into three main umbrella headings, and will therefore be reviewing them in the following order. As I stated earlier, first I will be introducing a brief history of Poland right up to the end of WWII, the final years of which (1939-1945) represent the time-frame where tumultuous world events (such as their forced migration), precipitated that my first generation respondents were forced to live out their future lives in great uncertainty and at times fear, outside the borders of their homeland. It is these events that are the setting for the experiences via which my second generation Polish respondents came to understand their polish heritage.

Secondly I will be looking at literature dealing with 'race' and ethnicity. This will include a discussion on migration, and the concept of diaspora, given its relevance to this study. I will then move on to an analysis of literature on Poles, both here and in the USA, where I discuss the notion of ethnic identity. Polish American communities developed as ethnic enclaves within major cities with an established industry, much like any other immigrant group in America. My review of the available literature on American Poles however shows that this immigrant ethnic group's development is different from other ethnic groups.

The final section looks at the literature on health¹, and health and ethnicity. Health is discussed in relation to minority groups, by looking at health and illness models and popular explanations for migrant health. The two latter sections of the literature will be discussed in terms of their relevance to the Polish experience as a white minority ethnic group.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLAND

Since its earliest recorded existence in AD 960, (Górka, 1942; Szczepanski, 1970), Poland, as a result of its geographical position between Russia and Germany, has been either at war or partitioned into partial annexation or experienced total (albeit transitory) 'non-existence'. Poland has very few natural shields on all its borders, such as mountains and un-fordable rivers, and as a result was forced to form uneasy

¹ I cover some of the general aspects of health in my methodology chapter, where I discuss the operationalisation of health as a variable.

alliances with her various neighbours throughout her history. One such alliance resulted in what was to become synonymous with Polish life and culture – namely, its introduction to Christianity. It was also at this time that Poland became a Christian nation, (as many of the earliest records were transcribed by monks they often coincide with the introduction and expansion of the clergy).

The territory of ancient Poland - situated between the Oder River in the west, the Vistula (Wisła) River in the east, the Carpathian Mountains in the south, and the Baltic Sea in the north - was originally inhabited by two Slavic tribes: the Polanie and the Wislanie. Close allies, by the 9th century they established the Polish state with its capital in the city of Gniezno. The year 966 AD is historically accepted as the founding of the Polish state, when Prince Mieszko I (963-992) was baptised into the Catholic Church. He was the first king of Poland and the founder of the Piast dynasty. Prince Mieszko I became a Christian in order to secure the assistance of Christian Czechs against Germany. By accepting Christianity, Poland became open to the influences of Western culture. Accordingly, the lauded close relationship between nationhood and Catholicism was born, from which the Poles have historically derived their orientation and fortitude, both in Poland and particularly among immigrants all over the world (Szczepanski, 1970; Bukowczyk, 1987; Pula, 1995).

It was due to the combined efforts of Mieszko I and his successors, who worked hard to create a Poland, that by 1100, it had developed into a fairly well defined area

inhabited by about two million 'racially and linguistically homogenous people' (Zamoyski, 1987: 20). They had established over eighty castle-towns by the end of the eleventh century, endowing market towns with royal charters granting protection and rights, and encouraged the replacement of barter with their own coinage. The development of this state and its economy, created a 'more marked sense of nationhood for Poles at this point in history, than in France, England, and most of the future states of Europe' (Zamoyski, 1987: 20).

The 'cradle of Polish statehood' (Braitto, 1988: 3) emerged under Bronislaw I to III (992-1138). This was referred to as the 'Golden Age' in the development of Poland, as these three kings who embraced a liberal form of government enhanced by civil rights, created the structure of an organised Polish state that endured right up to the end of the eighteenth century. This provided long periods of prosperity (both for the nobility and peasants i.e. serfs alike), The building of a new nation was no easy task. Periodically, new territories were annexed, and some were lost. During the rule of Boleslaw Chrobry, Poland gained new territories in the north, east, and west.

By the mid fourteenth century Poland experienced an economic revival and enlarged its territories. The Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Cracow) established in 1364 (and thus much older than any German or Russian university), spread Christian learning in many Central and East European countries. During this time large numbers of Jews fleeing persecution in Western Europe arrived to settle in Poland (Braitto, 1988: 3). For centuries to come, the Jewish Diaspora would find a safe

haven as wave after wave of Jews would settle in Poland. The last and largest group to come to Poland was comprised of Jews fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 (Suchcitz, 1995).

Throughout this period the Roman Catholic Church thrived, and grew to become an important factor in the emergent national unity, whereby the now many monasteries contributed to Polish civilisation, as well as to the imparting of knowledge. Poland established the first ministerium of education in Europe, but the emphasis was on enhancing its intellectual and artistic development rather than on any other form of application. With the teaching being instituted by the Roman Catholic Church, this ensured that the values of faith, honour and freedom were secure not only as an inherent component of the national identity (Znanińska Lopata, 1994; Lednicki, 1944; Dyboski, 1950), but also to intertwine both nationalism and Catholicism within Polish culture irrefutably from then on. It is important to note however, that there were still small yet thriving elements of pagan belief, which had survived the country's official conversion in 966. In some parts of Pomerania these beliefs were particularly strong, where prior to its recapture, it had suffered a gradual German incursion. Over the years this incursion had weakened the Polish position, and with it, social and religious beliefs².

² It is possible that an affinity between folk medicine and (magico-) religion may have had its origins in those dissenters who refused to convert to Christianity. In a previous study of mine (1993), my first generation respondents describe how in pre-war Poland very often those individuals whose expertise was sought due to their knowledge of folklore medicine, were on the periphery of the Catholic faith. These people were believed to 'inherit' their skills from one generation to the next.

During the Jagellonian rule the modernisation had begun, Poland was transformed from prehistoric obscurity to medieval splendour. This process was fully initiated when the Polish queen, Jadwiga, married the Lithuanian prince, Jagiello in 1386, with the incorporation of many of Lithuania's cultural facets into Poland's developing culture. At that time Lithuania was a large country with its borders as far south as the Black Sea, and with Moscow in the east. The Commonwealth became strong and powerful. But it also would become embroiled in wars and conflicts in the centuries to come. The union led to the creation of a large and strong army. The country was able at last to wage war against one of the best armies in Europe, the army of the Teutonic Knights.

The Battle of Grunwald in 1410 was one of the most important battles of the time. Despite the feudal system of governance, the power of kings was limited in Poland. As early as the first half of the fifteenth century, Poland had its 'Habeas Corpus Act', for which England had to wait another two and a half centuries, and most countries much longer.

By the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the dominant power in this part of Europe. Wladyslaw Jagiellonczyk ruled not only the Commonwealth, but was also the king of the Czechs and the Hungarians. The Jagellonian Period is a period of reformation in Poland where the Lutherans, the Calvinists and other denominations established

their churches. Poland was known in Europe for its liberalism and religious tolerance. With the death of the last Jagellonian king, Zygmunt August, in 1572, there followed a period of free elections of kings, where the then nation state of Poland was known as the (Polish Commonwealth) United Republic of Poland-Lithuania (1569-1795). Of eleven kings elected, only two were Polish. The second elected king, Stefan Bathory, fought a victorious war with the Russians for the Baltic territories.

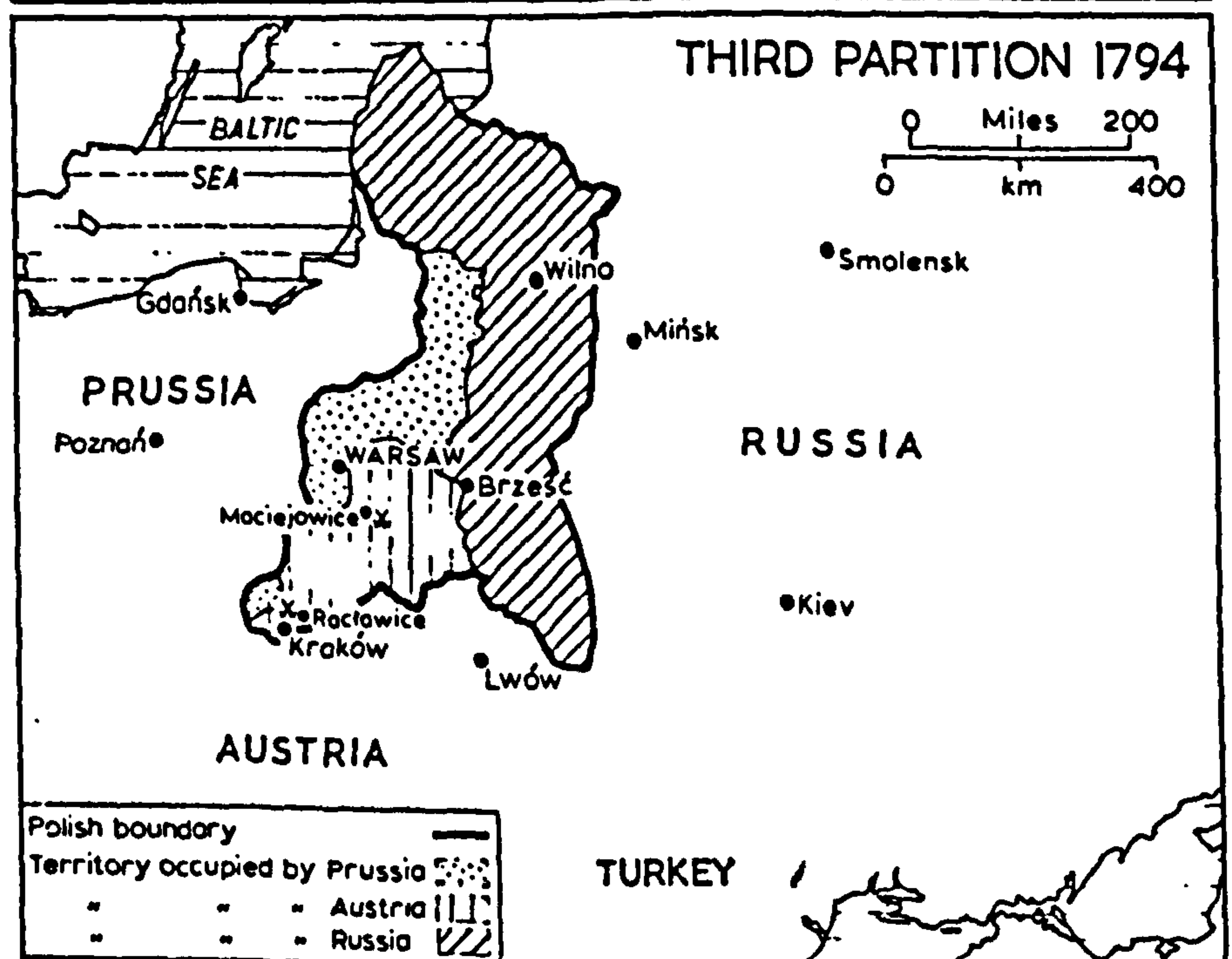
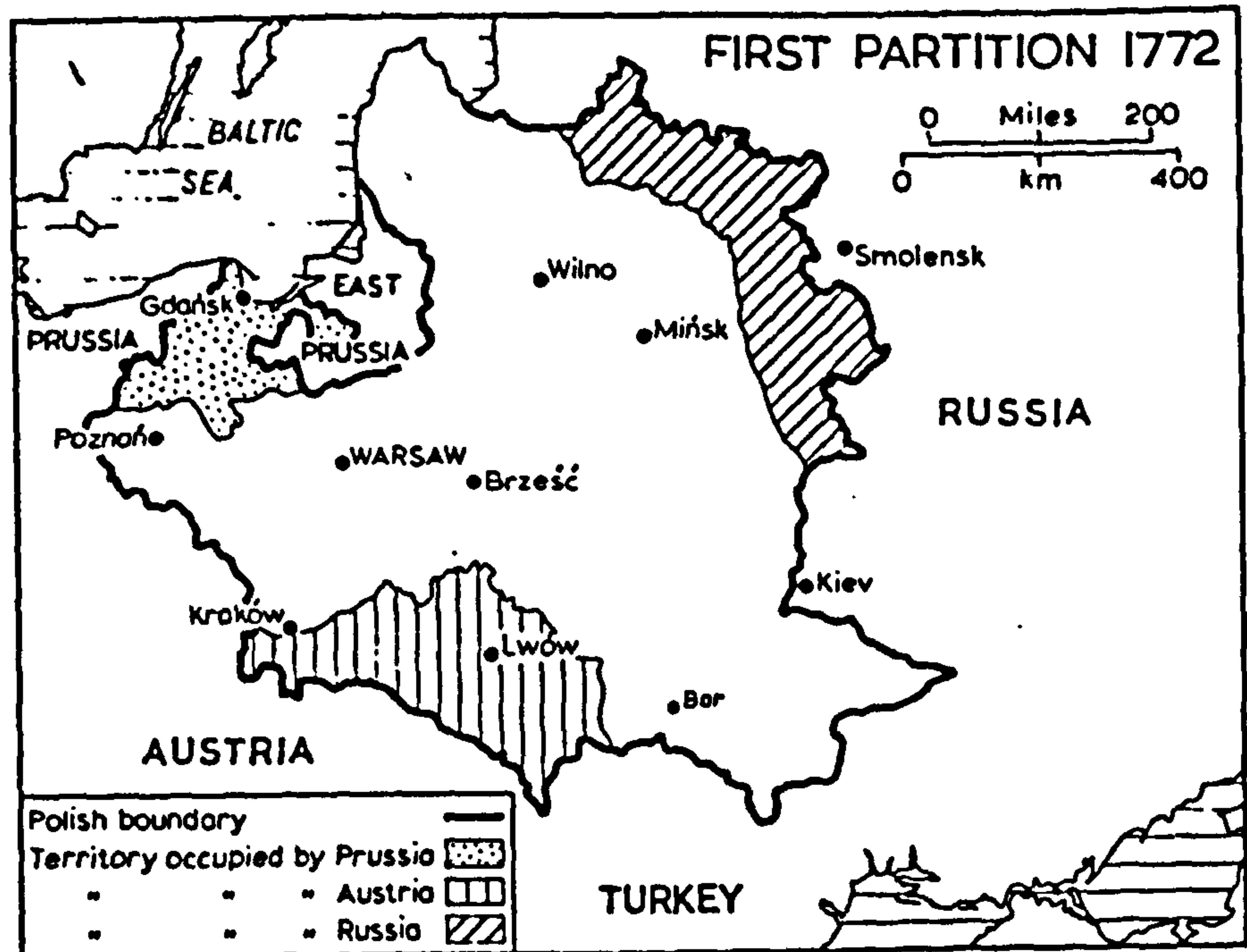
It was during the course of Poland's many partitions³ (1772; 1792; and 1795⁴), with the country 'disappearing from the face of the earth', that Poles learnt not just to identify with values such as freedom but to realise what life was like without them. Pawel Wlodkowic, an envoy of Polish Affairs in the 15th century, is said to have proclaimed that 'any political power must be exercised with the agreement of the people', and 'brute force' imposed in this manner was 'illegal' (cited in Gula, 1993:45). The partitioning powers of Russia, Prussia and Austria, 'aspiring to the name of enlightened monarchs had haggled greedily over the spoils', whilst Poland may have counted on the sympathy of every state in Europe, she received however, 'the support of none' (Zamoyski, 1987: 4).

The first partition in 1772 came about in the following way (Ibid. pp. 227-29).

Under the ministry of Choiseul, France was attempting with great difficulty to bring

³ In Chapter Two I discuss the historical relevance of Poland's partitions in relation to patterns of migration by Poles to America.

⁴ See Map 1, page 25.



The three partitions of Poland

a Franco-Turkish-Austrian-Saxon alliance to bear against Russia and Prussia.

Frederick the Great of Prussia had made it known that his primary interest was in carving up Poland and acquiring certain Polish provinces, and with the fall of Choiseul, France's schemes of creating her power base were rendered useless. This enabled Frederick to entice Austria away from France - and formed with her and Russia (after signing an agreement with Russia), a tripartite despoliation of Poland. The Austrian Empress, Maria Teresa, was at first unwilling, but eventually gave in, and on the 5th August 1772 the first partition of Poland was agreed. Prussia took 36,000 square kilometres with 580,000 inhabitants; Austria, 83,000 square kilometres with 2,650,000 inhabitants; and Russia, 92,000 square kilometres with 1,300,000 inhabitants. Prussia's share, not only linked up the two halves of the Prussian kingdom, but was also the most valuable, as it included the most developed areas of Poland, as well as giving Prussia total control over the Vistula which was Poland's lifeline to the outside world. In addition to Poland losing one third of her territory, as well as thirty-five per cent of her population, the three powers demanded that the partition treaties be ratified by the Polish Sejm (parliament). Russia insisted that by signing this treaty she was the 'guarantor of Polish independence and the protector of Polish territorial integrity' (sic), (Ibid: 228).

Sporadic tensions between the partitioning powers made it possible for Poland to regain some strength. Hopes were high when the Four-Year Sejm (1788-1792) promulgated a new constitution on May 3rd 1791. It was the first modern constitution

in Europe and the second written in world history. Reforms contained in it would have, without a doubt, returned Poland to its former glory. However, changes in international relations prevented this from taking place. Poland was invaded by Russia, and its 97,000 strong army defeated the much smaller Polish army, 37,000 strong. As result, the second partition of Poland took place in 1792, and once more was ratified, but this time at the insistence of Russia's Catherine the Great. This time two countries gained territories at the expense of Poland, with Russia taking 250,000 square kilometres and Prussia 58,000 square kilometres. Poland lost more than 50% of its territories.

The Kosciuszko Insurrection broke out in defense of the country on March 24, 1794, and was led by a hero of the American War of Independence, General Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Unfortunately, the now famous Insurrection was quelled by the Russians, and led to the Third Partition on October 24, 1795. Poland was taken off the map of the world, and this time carved up completely between Russia, Prussia, and Austria for a period of almost 123 years. In 1797 Kosciuszko, his soldiers, and all the other Poles in captivity, were freed from their imprisonment by Tsar Paul of Russia, who did it to celebrate his mother's death, Catherine the Great, as a mark of his unhappiness with the way he felt that Poland had been treated. It is said that he had spent much time discussing a way to 'revive' Poland with Stanisław Augustus, the deposed King of Poland. When the Polish king died on 12th February 1798, Tsar Paul honoured his status with a state funeral, and personally led the procession

(Zamoyski, 1987: 257).

There were numerous rebellions throughout the three partitions, most of which failed, and those which were fought against Russia often resulted in the expulsion of these 'insurrectionists' to America, for indeed for much of the nineteenth century political activism was often dealt with in one of two of the following ways: either by imprisonment to distant parts of the three ruling empires; or by forcible deportation (Davies, 1984). This was the beginning of Polish political émigrés, and the start of their sporadic migrations to America, as well as other parts of Europe, such as Italy and France, especially with Poland's total annexation as a result of the third partition (Mackun, 1964; Wyrwal, 1977; Zamoyski, 1987; Davies, 1981, 1984). For example, a group of 234 exiled revolutionaries following the failure of the Polish November Uprising against Russian rule, arrived in New York in 1830-31. Also in 1848, many thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia after each of the (equally) unsuccessful 'Risings' in opposition to Russian rule, just as hundreds of Poles caught up in the 'Revolution' in Kraków (Cracow) were compulsorily expelled by the Austrian authorities to the USA (Davies, 1984: 194).

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards therefore, wave after wave of political émigrés, often composed of the most educated (many of whom were the nobility), streamed out of Poland, thus draining her intellectual reserves, but as a result swelling the Polish émigré communities abroad. Thus 'Political Emigration has become a permanent part of the Polish condition' (Davies, 1984: 194), with strong

contingents of Poles forming communities directly as a result of the partitions and subsequent uprisings.

However, although 'political emigration is the logical product of the limitations of all other alternatives', there were many 'kinds' of Polish political émigrés (Davies, 1981: 193-194). I have only so far made reference to those Poles who were either 'expelled' or fled Poland, when talking about the swelling of national consciousness. However, over a period of nearly three centuries, Poles were subjected to many restrictions, not the least of which was the availability of travel documents. For many of these Poles, 'political emigration had to be practiced at home, in a conscious act of denial of the political realities of the day', where they complied with the bare minimum of official requirements in an effort to be seen as cooperative. However, in the privacy of their homes, they 'led a double existence of fervent patriotism and secret Polishness' (Ibid.: 196).

Gula (1993:45) talks of how the 'unifying power of religion' was able to affect such invariable reaction (to unite and fight) across all social classes. The outcome was, without exception, that, 'the old values were slowly regenerated in the nation after it had been humiliated, decimated, taken over by foreigners and deprived of freedom'.

The role that religion played during these times served to underpin the historical allegiance to it. Teaching by the clergy, who gave instruction in both religious and secular matters (education and cultural traditions) was maintained illicitly

'underground', throughout these long periods. Therefore, Poles obtained education and constant spiritual support in times when Polish was forbidden not just in all public places, but also in the home. The history of the Polish Catholic faith is permeated with how it, was instrumental in maintaining Polish culture and therefore, retaining Polish national and linguistic identities (Super, 1939; Gula, 1993: 38-46).

Norman Davies points out that the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland after WWII was stronger than at any other time in its 1,000 year history (1984: 11). Its strength and perseverance to the (WWII) post-war stage can be explained by the following influential factors: in part by the suffering of the nation on the whole, as a result of the enormous losses, both in population and territory – which turned people to the comfort of religion, in which they tried to find some explanation for the recent horrors; and in part, by 'the law of sheer cussedness, which increased people's loyalties to the Church, because their (Soviet) government had (once again in their history) forbidden it's practise' (Ibid.).

Despite defeat and subsequent oppression, the Polish people never gave up their hopes for freedom and independence. They saw a chance of escaping tyranny by helping Napoleon. In 1800, two Polish legions fought alongside Napoleon's forces: one under General K. Kniaziewicz in Germany; the other under General J. Dąbrowski in Italy. Unfortunately, Napoleon did not fulfill his promise to help Poland regain its freedom.

However, when in 1806, after the English-Austrian-Prussian coalition against Napoleon, Prussian forces had to retreat to their occupied Polish territory, the Polish Legion once again fought on Napoleon's side. As a result, by the Treaty of Tylza in 1807, a surrogate Duchy of Warsaw was proclaimed, made up of Prussian territories of the Second and the Third Partitions. Napoleon's defeat by Russia in 1812 spelled the end of the Duchy of Warsaw. The Vienna Congress in 1815 defined new Polish borders of the Kingdom of Poland which comprised 1/5 of its original territories and had a constitution forced upon it by Tsar Alexander. The rest of the country remained in the hands of the partitioning powers (Suchcitz, 1995; Erdmans, 1998).

The outbreak of World War I presented another opportunity to 'revive' Poland, as the partitioning powers were now fighting one another. The Polish Legions (at their peak numbering 20,000 soldiers), particularly the 1st Brigade under the command of Jozef Pilsudski (the future leader of Poland), played an important role in regaining independence for Poland. For comparison, the number of Poles forcibly conscripted into the armies of the partitioning powers was 3.4 million (Suchcitz, 1995).

Poland regained its independence on November 11, 1918. This was followed by a difficult period of economic reconstruction, and new diplomatic initiatives, as well as armed conflict, to define the new borders and integration of a country which had been divided into three different parts for 123 years. The war destroyed the country's economy. Battles were fought on almost all of Poland's territories. 450,000 Poles died in the war and as a result of starvation and illness hundreds of thousands of

civilians perished. Hundreds of thousands were relocated, and factories and railways were destroyed (Suchcitz, 1995; Davies, 1984).

The Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919, broadly defined Poland's borders. As a result of plebescites and three insurrections in the region of Silesia (1919, 1920, 1922) and the Wielopolski Insurrection, the western border with Germany was finally established. The eastern border was decided by the victory over the Soviet Union in the 1920 war. The 1920 war, in addition to the establishment of Poland's eastern border, stopped the Red Army's advance on Western Europe. By the Treaty of Riga on March 18, 1921, Poland's eastern border was formally established. The Second Republic, with a territory smaller than before the partitions - 386,000 square kilometres - had 27 million people. Such was the new Poland for the next 20 years.

The outbreak of World War II put an end to the rebuilding of Poland; the country was defeated by the significantly superior German army. The Soviet Union invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. Once again Poland was divided by two occupying powers. In the East, the Soviets implemented a policy of destruction. Hundreds of thousands of Polish people were forcibly deported to the Soviet Union, some to labour camps, others to concentration camps. Many of those who remained perished from hunger, repression and hard labour (Suchcitz, 1995).

The Germans divided the conquered Polish territories into two parts: northern and western Poland were incorporated into the Third Reich; in the rest they established

the General Government (Generalgouvernement). In both regions the Germans introduced a policy of extermination of Polish people. First to be disposed of were the 'intelligentsia'. Polish lands were dotted with labour and concentration camps. In all, there were some 2,000 camps. The first was the camp in Stutthof, near the city of Gdansk, opened as early as 1939. The most notorious and best known concentration camp, Auschwitz, was established in 1940. The Nazis used the concentration camps for the extermination of Polish citizens, Christians and Jews alike. Later, they also housed citizens of other European countries and the Soviet Union (Suchcitz, 1995).

On August 1, 1944, after 63 days of intense fighting and in what was to become known as the Warsaw Rising, the capital of Poland was captured by the advancing Russian armies. This action destroyed Poland's political and military organisations and led the way for a Soviet takeover of the whole nation. After their surrender, many soldiers and civilians were summarily executed or sent to concentration camps for execution, and Warsaw was razed to the ground.

At Yalta, in February 1945, the Allies decided Poland's fate, and despite objections from the Polish Government-in-Exile, what was territorially left of Poland, was given over to Russia's zone of influence in a post-war Europe (Sword, 1989, Suchcitz, 1995). This event, and British attempts to coerce the exiled Polish Government⁵ into accepting the newly formed 'Polish Committee for National Liberation' (a euphemism for the Soviet – Communist – government), left many

⁵ With the invasion of (Independent) Poland, her Government relocated to London with the permission of the incumbent British government.

Poles feeling betrayed, especially by the British, whom they felt were their only hope especially after Churchill's assurances.

Much has been written about the impact of the Yalta Conference, but the background events which led to determining Poland's fate need to be further outlined, as they in effect paved the way for the 'Yalta division of Europe into American and Soviet spheres of interest' (Sword et al, 1989: 176). The Teheran Conference which took place on November 28, 1943, between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, led to a secret provisional agreement where all three determined that Poland was to be 'liberated'(sic) by the Red Army (hence the downfall of Warsaw), and not by Anglo-American forces, making it 'a veritable watershed in British and American Policies on Poland' (Ibid.).

When the war ended on May 8, 1945, Poland's territories were once again altered. The Curzon Line formed the new Polish-Soviet frontier, and as a result Poland lost her whole left (Eastern) flank, which formed geographically the largest region of natural resources, which included two vast cultural centres, Wilno and Lwów.

Poland's costs as a result of WWII were enormous. The country lost 38% of its national assets (with France losing 1.5%, and Britain losing 0.8%). Twenty-two percent of the total population died. This represented over half a million fighting men and women, and six million civilians. Approximately 5,384,000 (89.9%) (Piotrowski, 1998) of these war losses were known to die as a result of death camps,

executions, prisons, epidemics, annihilation of ghettos, raids, starvation, excessive work and ill treatment. So many Poles were sent away to Soviet and German concentration and labour camps, that this became one form of commonality shared by Polish communities worldwide. Another was that of 'exile', which epitomised the spirit of the Polish Government in London, and became the theoretical basis for the Polish community in the UK.

It must also be noted that in response to Poland's wartime shortage of soldiers, there were over 200,000 émigrés volunteering to fight for Poland in World War II. These figures were the response from Polish immigrants from Canada and the USA, and Gula noted that other responses, although smaller in number were also recorded (1993:75-76). To this day émigré organisations all over the world make concerted efforts to assist Poland in ways where they can, namely financially.

A distinct characteristic of all these Poles from previous waves, is that they have supported the homeland, financially and otherwise. Fulfilling as Cohen says, (1997:26) a common feature of a Diaspora.

A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE SECTIONS

A Commentary On British Race and Ethnicity Literature.

In Britain over the past three decades, discussions on migration by both politicians and academics (with respect to the growing theorisation of race and racism), have

centred almost exclusively upon post -1945 migrations from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. More specifically, the emerging field of race studies was dominated by two main themes. Firstly, there was the issue of coloured immigrants, and the reaction to them by white Britons. The second focused on the role of colonial history, in determining popular conceptions of colour and race within British society. As a result of which, these themes developed into debates concerned with immigration controls and the consequences of settlement (Miles, 1990; Solomos, 1989; Patterson, 1963; Rex & Moore, 1967), rather than on the processes of migration and their various determinants - as in the case of the Poles and other non-colonial migrations (Kay & Miles, 1992; Sword, 1989).

In the 1950's and 1960's the concept of 'race relations' came into being, as a result of a number of early studies carried out by those (now acclaimed) academics, such as Ruth Glass, Sheila Patterson, Michael Banton and John Rex. Interest in this field at the time was preoccupied in the main with the interaction between majority and minority communities in constant competition for housing and employment, and the marginalisation of the 'coloured' or 'black' immigrant's position in society with respect to particular provisions in other social contexts such as the educational needs of their children (Bernstein, 1961).

One such example of assumed problems with black immigrants would often lead to their labelling (Becker, 1963), e.g. where West Indian immigrants were seen to be a potential source of trouble and friction by the local indigenous

community. As Patterson (1963: 199) put it:

No immigrant group has in the mass so singularly failed to conform to these expectations and patterns as have the West Indians. The Cypriots, Maltese, and Italians are often held to infringe the criteria of neatness and quietness, but most are thought to live respectable family lives, or at least keep themselves to themselves.

She then continued:

This also applies to the Poles, *who after a doubtful start*, have earned respect as conformists and solid householders interested in conserving and even improving their properties.

(my italics)

As Mason (1995: 69) maintains, such notions of assimilation 'were ultimately to prove a failure'. This whole area became known as the *race relations problematic* (Banton, 1991), and the hitherto unheard of concerns regarding the wider socio-political perspective which the interplay between race relations and social relations was part of, now came sharply into focus.

With hindsight, the six basic orders of race relations identified by Banton (1967), namely institutionalised contact, acculturation, domination, paternalism, integration and pluralism were enterprising, but not developed. He ranked highly a need to consider a historical and global perspective (such as cultural aspects and beliefs), as opposed to those precepts which are still upheld today, wherein studies of race and ethnic relations are commonly constructed around a polarity of black and white.

Therefore, as the categorisation of minority groups were being determined by political intentions, the research agenda was to be shaped by this very preoccupation

(by both social scientists and policy makers alike) for understanding, and attempting to deal with, the perceptible problems of racial discrimination. The black/white divide was here to stay, and rather than examining the diverse ethnic groups which had settled in Britain, they were treated by such policy makers and academics alike as falling into either 'white' or 'black' homogeneous categories. By implication, all non-colonial immigrants were not seen as having problems or causing problems, and this rationale ensured that the study of European migrations, particularly the Poles, 'have been marginalised, if not completely ignored'' (Kay & Miles, 1992:166).

There were several fundamental differences between the position of the Polish immigrants who arrived in Britain as a result of the Second World War, and those immigrants who migrated from the Commonwealth in significant numbers from 1947. Firstly, they arrived not by choice but as either: part of the Allied Forces; or as a category of Displaced Person (DP), officially renamed (ironically) as a European Voluntary Worker (EVW); and, if they were from those areas of Poland which as a result of the Yalta Treaty were no longer Polish territories, then they had no home to return to if conditions were not suitable for them to remain here. (Sword et al, 1989, Kay & Miles, 1992.).

Secondly, there were no established Polish communities for them to head for (in contrast to the highly established Polish enclaves available for those Poles heading for America, post WWII). In addition to this, the Poles in the UK were subject to

geographical restrictions for a period not exceeding three years upon arrival to Britain. But the crucial difference was that as EVWs with an alien status, there were state labour restrictions to which as a condition of entry (and failing which, expulsion) they had to stick to. On the other hand, colonial British subjects not only had uncontrolled entry into Britain, but they were (relatively) at liberty to circulate without any formal restrictions within the labour market, and invariably had a homeland to return to, as well as one with which they were both able to and invariably did, keep in contact with (Kay & Miles, 1992; Sword *et al.*, 1989).

Paradoxically, it was at this time when the Poles might well have identified with Rex's concept of the migrant as an exploited 'underclass'⁶, which he used with reference to non-white migrants in his studies of Birmingham housing classes in the 60's and the 70's. Here the immigrant worker experienced high levels of marginalisation, but within their social class, not as members of society as a whole. When compared with their white working class peers, this discrimination was seen to manifest itself in minimal access to many areas where white workers had made notable gains, such as housing, education and employment. This (disadvantaged) position, therefore placed them *outside* the working class, and into an underclass. As Rex & Tomlinson (1979:275) put it, 'the concept of underclass

⁶ Rex turned to describing the position of Blacks in Britain as an underclass, after much criticism of the 'housing classes' concept he and Moore (Rex and Moore, 1967) had devised. However, this theory was a major contribution to debates in the 60's and 70's on race relations and social conflict. It was not unlike the Chicago School's Park and Burgess's model of human ecology, where competition for better housing witnessed those able to move, going from inner city to outer 'zones' (Park and Burgess, 1925).

was intended to suggest....that the minorities were systematically disadvantaged compared with their white peers.’ Despite the immense difficulties, immigrant groups have moved out of inner city ghettos and settled in (middle-class) suburban areas (Ratcliffe, 1981; Murphy and West, 1997). However, many may choose not to do so (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997)⁷.

There is no doubt that the racial discrimination experienced by members from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent was ruthless in those early days, and it is argued that it has never really been eradicated, but that it take different forms today by Rex (1983, 1991), Castles *et al.* (1993); Castles & Miller (1993); Ahmad, (1992a, 1993), to name but a few.

One illustration of this is in education, where continuing underachievement is particularly in evidence in African-Caribbean pupils prior to age 16, especially boys (Troyna & Carrington, 1990)⁸. These authors maintain (and I am in agreement with them), that ‘this way of measuring achievement privileges ethnicity as an explanatory variable while at the same time taking the definition of what constitutes an ethnic group somewhat for granted.’⁹ By imposing external (institutional) definitions and (short-sightedly) overlooking those determinants which interact with ethnicity such as class and gender, searching for single-cause explanations of

⁷ Although I will be discussing the Polish American survey site elsewhere, it is appropriate to state that in my sample, respondents from within a Polish enclave often chose to stay in the environment, even when their children had left the area due to out-migration.

⁸ Cited in Mason, 1995

⁹ Quoted from Mason, 1995: 67.

'underachievement' only serve to underpin the continued 'pandering of racial prejudices of white parents' (Gillborn, 1990: 143)¹⁰. But the racial prejudice does not stop there, evidence from one study suggested that ethnocentric behaviour is rife amongst teachers in their treatment of pupils of minority ethnic origin (Mirza, 1992).

The point must also be made that any kind of multicultural initiatives endorsed for schools, were really thought as being relevant only to those schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority students, with any such inclusion in other schools, whose demographics consisted overwhelmingly of white children, being considered a risk to the very fabric of British values and traditions (Tomlinson, 1990).

Worse still of course, are those (documented) examples of racial violence and harassment. I specifically state documented as there is evidence to suggest that there may be a significant level of under-reporting of racial incidents, as reported by a Home Affairs Select Committee in 1989.¹¹

These factors notwithstanding, however, what is important to restate here, is that as a consequence of such continued discrimination experienced by non-white groups, this appears to have impacted directly on the very low levels of officially sanctioned

¹⁰ Cited in Mason, 1995: 67.

¹¹ Home Affairs Select Committee, HMSO, 1989. Police forces in England and Wales, and those in Scotland, have been required to collect statistics on racial incidents since 1986 and 1987 respectively.

(government) studies carried out on white minority ethnic groups.

As a leading figure in the study of race relations, Rex believed that the position of immigrants was predetermined on the basis of their position within the labour market as cheap labour, and that these structural conditions remained in place, thus retaining in perpetuity the position of such immigrants beyond any negotiating which continuously took place between the white workers and capital. Although this might be the case for non-white migrants (in the UK and USA), there is sufficient data to indicate that Poles in particular are not restricted to secondary labour markets both here and in the USA (OPCS, 1993; US Census Data Div. 1993; Romanucci-Ross, and De Vos, 1995; Aguirre & Turner, 1998, Waters, 1990). As such, any study on Poles in Britain will not be able to use such established data (on the continued underachievement of non-white minorities), on this basis alone.

From such baseline constructs regarding a visible and pervasive discrimination leading therefore into all forms of social activity (e.g. housing, education, etc.), Rex and Tomlinson developed a model of political action. Immigrant minorities are seen to form themselves into a series of reactive/defensive political strategies (such as the Black Panthers in the USA). The Poles in Britain have not united into a consciously collective group as has been seen to be the case within the West Indian and Asian communities. In the West Indian community this has taken the form of withdrawal from competition altogether, and an emphasis on 'black identity' construction. In Asian communities, there has been a concerted move

towards social mobility and the accumulation of capital (Solomos, 1993).

Once again, these explanations of ethnic minorities' responses to deterministic measures in the form of 'actions/reactions' are not purely applicable to the position of the Poles. Studies of subsequent Asian and West Indian generations are dealt with from this same premise, and one might be hard pressed to attempt to show that second generation Poles can identify with those *overt* forms of discrimination, experienced by their Asian and West Indian peers. The Poles in Britain have no political agenda with their host country, and as such, coupled with the prevalent ethnocentrism, are expected to assimilate in order to become successful (Sword, 1996; Miles, 1989; Kay & Miles, 1992; Mason, 1990).

What they do have however, is a very strong propensity to maintain nationalistic ideals, and the first generation nurtured the hope of returning to a 'free' Poland, even though the majority of those who arrived to the UK were from Eastern Poland. The whole Eastern Territories were lost to Poland, with the then USSR benefiting (Piotrowski, 1998). However, this is deemed to have caused some conflict for the first generation in terms of adjustment (Bromke, 1949; Zubrzycki, 1956). Studies on first generation Poles have shown that apart from the expected trauma experienced due to their particular form of migration, that as a comparative ethnic group they had severe problems in acculturating, and at the same time, finding it equally difficult in maintaining their own ethnic identities in the (hostile) host

environment¹² (Abrams, 1978, 1980; Bram, 1985; Young and George, 1991; Dopson, 1989). However, those ongoing problems faced by non-white ethnic groups, only serve to underscore the systematic use of racial symbols in the construction of contemporary Britain's national identity. Solomos (1993: 180) rightly states that the, 'racialisation of British political culture has been achieved through the social construction of ideological notions of the nation, culture and politics.'

There has been much work in recent years on the politics of racism, addressing the part politics itself has played in tempering the nation's attitude toward those who are as seen part of an ethnic minority group. Margaret Thatcher's direct response to the Brixton riots in 1981 was to pledge an increase in the strength of the police force, particularly in the management of riot situations, thus giving a clear message that there was a problem (with ethnic minorities), *and* that it could be contained. It is not too far-fetched, I believe, to draw some (broad) parallels between this means of 'containment', and the corralling of the Polish Jews into what became known as the Warsaw Ghetto in 1939. Thatcher's¹³ *modus operandi* therefore, was to

¹² Much more recent research (1998 onwards) being undertaken at the Princess Alexandra Hospital in Harlow, Essex, has recognized that in first generations Poles (and others) diagnosed with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome), this appears as a clear manifestation of these people's horrendous WWII experiences. During 'personal communication' with the Consultant Clinical Psychologist (18th June 1999), I was informed that such experience in effect, never really leave us, and resurface often in old age, *and* are often misdiagnosed as symptoms consistent with those associated with the elderly. As a result, the treatments given are ineffective.

¹³ Margaret Thatcher underscored her notions of 'them' and 'us' at a Conservative meeting in 1999 discussing (her continued stand against) Britain's position in relation to a European union, and the retention of Sterling. Giving a speech she is quoted as saying "There is a reason why God intended us to remain a separate island, *we are special and destined for greatness.*" Quoted in *The Times*, 18.12.1999, (my italics).

in effect create a 'boundary', which designated between 'them' and 'us' (Said, 1991).

There was no real interest in trying to understand what had triggered such violent outbursts. Quite simply, the wider implications of changing ideological, social, and political horizons had been removed from any analysis of these events (Solomos, 1993).

There is interest in the development of how the boundaries of the national collectivity have changed since WWII, in how the 'white' Briton has come to perceive the Other 'non-white' Briton, with respect to the growth of Powellism and institutionalised racist discourse. Miles and Phizacklea (1984) for example, have looked at the racialisation of British political culture (since 1945), by attempting to analyse the relationship between ideological, political and economic factors. There is also growing evidence of the emergence of a new racism, which as Solomos (1993 35) puts it¹⁴:

is defined by the way it mobilises notions of culture and nation to construct a definition of the British nation which excludes those of a different cultural, ethnic or racial background from the national collectivity.

This has definitely been borne out in such white minority ethnic groups as the Irish (CRE, 1997), where racism continues unabated. In a recently commissioned report by the *Commission for Racial Equality* on the Irish community in Britain, the opening comments in its conclusion make very disturbing reading: (CRE: 234):

¹⁴ For further reading on this topic, Solomos cites the following authors giving some attention to this new racism: Barker, 1981; CCCS Race and Politics Group, 1982; Reeves, 1983; Miles & Phizacklea, 1984, Gilroy, 1987.

The main findings of this research are that there is an extremely strong resistance to recognition of the distinctiveness of Irish experience in Britain which results in the lack of acknowledgement of Irish needs and rights, but at the same time there is a widespread, and almost completely unquestioned, acceptance of anti-Irish racism in British society.

The construction of the 'Other', has always been used to underpin distance between groups within a given society and those who are different to the society in question. These constitute not only new arrivals, but also their offspring, who were born into their parents' 'host' society, and therefore now form part of the indigenous population. Cohen (1986: 1) writes:

people mark out their immediate and intimate social identities, those boundaries of their social lives which demarcate most powerfully and meaningfully their sense of similarity to and difference from other people.

However, (ethnic) boundary markings are not only manifested against groups of people who are 'externally different', (Weber, 1997: 15), but also against those who have the same outward appearance, (as well as their offspring), as evidenced above in my reference to the ongoing racism directed at the Irish.

Cohen (1994: 194) states that it is only the British who speak of 'others' as 'ethnics', but never in describing themselves, as though being ethnic is something which is *not* British, itself an 'exclusionary' measure. He goes on to say how the British national identity evolved at the (often deleterious) expense of other groups in 'shaping British Xenophobic and nationalist responses' from the earliest Irish migrations, to the more recent 'black Commonwealth' migrations (Ibid.: 203).

The Notion of Diasporas.

Khachig Tölölian (1991: 4-5)¹⁵ writes, 'Diasporas are the exemplary communities of the transnational moment'. He adds (and I agree with him), that the term 'Diaspora' that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community' (Ibid.).

What I do not agree with, is the notion of adhering to an 'ideal type' construction of defining 'diaspora' based on the Jewish historical experience. Although I equally recognise that the Jewish tradition is 'at the heart of any definition of the concept' (Cohen, 1997: 21), I agree with (other) scholars that this limited definition has very little real application to modern global movements of different people (Cohen, 1997; Clifford, 1997).

The notion of 'diasporas' can be applied to the various dispersals of the Poles throughout their turbulent history, and in fact, as I mentioned earlier, very closely fulfil both Safran's¹⁶ comprehensive desiderata, as well as Cohen's modified and extended version of the former. In order to demonstrate how the Poles' historical situation places them within the category of a 'diaspora people' or as Safran calls them 'the Polish diaspora of the past' (1991: 84)¹⁷, I will list Cohen's version which

¹⁵ Cited in James Clifford's '*Diasporas*', page 283, in M. Guibernau & J. Rex The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Migration, 1997. Polity Press.

¹⁶ Safran's desiderata can be found in R. Cohen's *Global Diasporas*, 1997, page 23.

¹⁷ Cited in Clifford, 1997: 284.

I believe represents more closely the Poles' various experiences of mass dispersal that I described in the first half of Chapter Two.

Table 1 Common Features of a Diaspora¹⁸

- 1 Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
- 2 alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
- 3 a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements;
- 4 an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
- 5 the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation;
- 6 a strong ethnic consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a distinctiveness, a common history, and a belief in a common fate;
- 7 a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
- 8 a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement, and;
- 9 the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

It serves little purpose for me to go through each of these, as these are in effect common features and apply to *different categories of people* (as stated on p.47), therefore not all the above features will be a suitable 'fit' for all kinds of diasporic experiences. What we can be sure of however, is that, in reference to feature No.9, the assumption that a pluralistic element in the receiving society will facilitate the accommodation of the newly arrived, can no longer be taken for granted (Cohen, 1997). As I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, first generation Poles from both my UK and US samples found that they were 'often received with hostility and

¹⁸ Reproduced from R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 1997, page 26.

resentment by the indigenous population and the assimilated citizenry' (Cohen, 1997: x).

Although I would not associate feature No.2 as being consistent with the experience of dispersal for my group of Poles currently being studied, but, this in concert with several other features defines the experiences of the mass of migrations of Poles during Poland's partitioned periods. On the other hand, I find resonance on the whole, with the majority of the features as being broadly representative of those experiences shared by Poles dispersed globally as a result of WWII (Zamoyski, 1987; Zubrzycki, 1953, 1988), and discussed by me in the next section, under 'migratory process'.

One salient feature of a 'diasporic' community, is that of change, with some groups taking 'dual or multiple forms', and others changing in character over time (Cohen, 1997: x). Such changes over time can to a great extent be attributed to the second or subsequent generations, for their ideological orientation is already far removed to that of their parents, by virtue of being born in the parents' 'host' country.

For many second generation Poles, the political reasons for their parents having to settle down in either the UK or the USA, on a day to day basis, meant very little to them. Most certainly many empathised with their parents' hardships, but that did not change the fact that they were distanced from those very rationales which drove their parents, and reinforced the first generations' perceptions of self (Erdmans, 1998;

Znanięcka Lopata, 1974; Sword, 1989; Braito, 1988). It is very easy for an outsider such as Zebrowska¹⁹ to view the dwindling levels (in her eyes), of the maintainment of Polish cultural and religious traditions as a reflection of the inadequate efforts by first, but primarily second generation Poles, in maintaining elements of their cultural heritage. However, the reality is something altogether different.

One of the major changes over time in diasporic communities is to the groups' demographics, and is often brought about by individuals marrying outside the core of their own group, as well the presence of the (new) environment itself. The resulting mix of cultures, has been called 'hybridity' by Hall (1992) and other postmodernist authors.

Nevertheless, it is the environment which influences the various changes in each of the co-ethnic communities in different countries of settlement. In American Polonian academic circles, this is often a source of great debate. For example, Strybel recently (1999²⁰) wrote that 'there is general agreement that Polish Americans are drifting away from their heritage'. But this concern is no different to those expressed by

¹⁹ I have referred to Zebrowska's (1986) study en passant, but feel that here it is pertinent to elaborate on what I and others (Temple, 1994) feel to have been, in part, a unsound piece of work. Zebrowska, a Pole from Poland, conducted a study of second generation Poles in the UK. The belief that her approach was unsound, was for two main reasons. She constructed first of all a set of questions (whose responses were very much on a Likert scale), she subsequently scored respondents, in terms of being 'weak' or 'strong' Poles – on the basis of their levels of involvement in the formal elements of the Polish community. Secondly, her frames of reference were of course drawn from her own experiences, as a Pole, growing up in Poland, where Polish is the primary language spoken, and written etc.. She (wrongly) assumed that an exiled Polish community in the UK would be a microcosm of life as she knew it to be in Poland. Temple informed (1994a) me that several years previously, Zebrowska had since then renounced (to Temple), her theories regarding 2nd generation Poles in the UK as being inappropriate, although never publicly.

²⁰ This document was retrieved using the WWW, from an archive which holds internet accessible copies of a Polish newspaper in Chicago, the '*Polish Suburban News*', (PSN) issue 33, January 1999.

Thomas and Znaniecki, in 1918, on the fragmentation of the Polish community in Chicago, which would lead to its inevitable demise. The changes occurring in Polonian communities are no different, broadly speaking, to the general evolution of any society. However, the rate of erosion is substantially greater in terms of language and customs, and since these often form the boundaries that separate ethnic communities from the 'host' societies, their loss therefore is seen as a real threat to the continuation or indeed the very existence of many ethnic minority communities, causing equal concerns on this side of the Atlantic (Sword, 1996; Zubrzycki, 1988).

The world of a British or American Pole growing up, was often mutually exclusive from that of his or her British or American peers, and as such he/she came to know two world views (Marsella, 1985). It is inevitable therefore that the second generation would bring their (British and American) socialisation to bear on *their* decisions in adulthood, in concert with all the other demands of modern life, on their final resolutions on what elements of their different kinds of Polishness if any, will be maintained by them. These changes therefore are inevitable, and as such they alter the landscape of the Polish community, just as subsequent generations will also alter it, so that it reflects their lifestyles, and the importance that being Polish has within their lives. Before I move on to discuss migration, I would like to leave one last thought from Hall, who encapsulates the diasporic experience very succinctly (1990: 235²¹), he states that:

²¹ Cited in Cohen, 1997: 138.

The diaspora experience ... is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference, by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference.

The Migratory Process and Ethnic Minorities.

There are a variety of theoretical approaches that attempt to locate where the wide range of international migrants who move for one reason or another, might fit into. One reason for this, is that the study of migration 'cannot be confined to a single social-scientific domain' as the explanations are often derived 'from different premises and methodologies' (Castles and Miller 1993: 19). I take the position that the Poles constituted an unusual case, in that their status was one of 'political refugee', and as such they had no real choice in their (enforced mass) migration (Zubrzycki, 1956, 1988, 1992; Sword *et al.*, 1989; Hitch, 1975; Zebrowska, 1986; Patterson, 1977). Therefore, the models listed below that describe my first generation respondents the closest, are models six, seven, and nine. These three models I will discuss in greater detail. But firstly, I would like to briefly go through the 'building blocks' used in the theoretical construction of migration, and at the same time present the various processes which provide a 'direction' for the vast range of possible migratory routes. These are Cohen maintains, 'asymmetrical dyads'²², with one pole more strongly affirmed than the other. He lists nine such

²² The explanation of these are taken from Robin Cohen, (1996: xi-xiv), *Theories of Migration*.

models which theorists have devised to make assumptions regarding reasons for migration. It will become evident precisely why it is so difficult to categorise migratory waves, as the individuals concerned share many characteristics from within the following range of models.

1. Individual vs. contextual reasons to migrate. Cohen maintains, and I agree with him, that the theorist 'has to make the untenable assumption' that individuals (who are 'assigned' to this category) are able to make free choices whilst operating within a 'calculative rational model of the world'. Whereas in reality, the following constraints face the individual: rural emigration, employment and housing prospects, transport costs, international law, migration policies (of sending and receiving states), and the need for documentation such as passports etc.
2. Rate vs. incidence of migration. Advocates of this model theorise that an individual's motivation is shaped by structural causation. For example, why might some decide to follow a current migratory trend, and others not? One dimension examined to explain this is by looking at decisions being made at the household level, establishing some (economic) explanation for the incidence of migration.
3. Internal vs. international migration. Because of the lack of restriction in regulating internal flows of migration, such levels are basically unknown. However, there are instances where some confusion might arise as to whether the movement is the former or the latter. This is because in some African countries for example, the

boundaries have been artificially marked by colonial powers, added to which such boundaries have as a result effectively dissected previous established borders of groups with similar ethnic backgrounds. It could be argued therefore, that those Poles who were suddenly seen as aliens in their own vanquished (Polish) territories which were annexed by Germany in 1939, found themselves fleeing for their lives in a bizarre twist to this model, as international refugees (Górka, 1942).

4. Temporary vs. permanent migration. Not all temporary migrants remain so, as circumstances (sometimes) beyond their control dictate that their temporary locations may become permanent ones. A good example of a (permanent) temporary status is that of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) in Germany. Under Germany's legislative framework regarding immigrants, the (Turkish) migrants are unable to vote, and the second generation, unlike here in the UK, finding it very hard to obtain citizenship (Cohen, 1987; Boyle *et al.*, 1998). Many of my first generation respondents continued to believe that their stay in the UK (as well as the other European destinations) was always going to be a temporary one (Sword, 1989)²³.

5. Settler vs. labour migration. Cohen lists the following as examples for this model, and the displacement effect that they (the Europeans) had on the indigenous peoples whose land they expropriated whilst forming their new settlements. The best

²³ It is interesting to note here that many of my UK first generation respondents made a conscious decision to remain in the UK after WWII, due to its relative proximity to Poland based on the above assumption. This is somewhat 'corroborated' by a number of my US respondents, who even though they also had no territorial home which to return to, had nonetheless decided that they would most probably never be returning to (a free) Poland, and thus felt less restrained in choosing their final point of relocation - namely America, Strzalkowska, 1992; Sword, 1989, 1996; & Erdmans, 1998.

known, and perhaps the most hard done by, were of course the Native Americans, the Aborigines, the Inuit, and the Maori.

6. Planned vs. flight migration. Cohen argues that ‘an individual's resolve to migrate cannot be separated from the local, institutional, and global context in which that decision is reached’ (1996: xiv). This means that mass displacement and population flows occur despite what the individual might choose to do placed in such circumstances. However, Kunz²⁴ (1973) maintains that there is always some element of planning even when individuals are forced (compelled) to leave their homes. He saw the flow of migration developing into two distinct categories, which in turn would develop into many refugee flows. These were the *anticipatory* refugees, and were those who would recognise more quickly the threat to their lives, and hence be in a (better) position to plan their flight. They would therefore have time to liquidate their assets, and plan their proposed country of destination. This type was therefore assumed to be more educated, affluent and dictate that the family could travel together. The second main group, was that of *acute* refugees. Unlike the former, they were deemed to be in a lesser position to control for the contextual events which dictate imminent flight to safety (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 191).

I disagree with Kunz on two points, because taking Cohen's argument of applying logic to arrive at locating individuals within these models, I find it very difficult to reconcile what I know were the circumstances surrounding many of my respondents'

²⁴ See migration model no.9, ‘push vs. pull’ factors, page 57.

first encounters with the harsh reality of becoming refugees. One of the defining aspects for these individuals was an assertion of power (by the marauding army etc.), over their very decision-making abilities to go or stay. For example, there was no evidence of planning. Secondly, and of equal importance, many of the Poles who were caught up in these events, were educated and affluent, and yet still unable to determine their (chosen) course of flight (Braitto, op cit; Hitch, 1975). In the worst reported cases, many were given literally only minutes to grab up whatever they were able, and thrown out of their homes. For those with infants, one can imagine that this was all that they were able to 'seize' (Suchcitz, 1995).

7. Economic migrants vs. political refugees. As I have already discussed, the Poles were deemed to be political refugees. Economic migrants on the other hand, are on the move to a new location primarily to improve their economic circumstances. In recent years, migratory theorists have found it increasingly difficult to distinguish between these two categories, given the increased movement of populations since the post Cold War period, a good example of which are Poles during the Solidarity era. Even though I have tended to separate political from economic migrations, mainly to emphasize the ideological location of my first generation Poles, Norman Davies maintains that no (real) division exists between these two (1984: 254-255), saying that, 'all political exiles are affected by the material circumstances of their departure, just as every economic migrant adds to the political and cultural consequences of mass movements of people'.

Other persecuted groups such as the Jews²⁵ have a long history of migratory waves as a result of their oppression, and as such are seen to have a politically motivated basis for flight, making migration 'a force in Jewish history' (Holmes, 1995), and having de facto recognition as (ethnically) defining 'Diaspora' (Cohen, 1997). As in most forms of international migration, the state intervenes to dictate an individual's relative freedom of movement, making this international migration a very controversial area of study, particularly so for refugees. This was evidenced by (contemporary) Russia's stand in not allowing their Jews to emigrate (Cohen 1987; Joly and Cohen, 1989; Morawska, 1995; Holmes, 1995; Basok & Benifand, 1995).

8. Illegal vs. legal migration. Illegal migration 'is, by definition, a product of the laws made to control migration' (Castles & Miller, 1993: 90). Many *wakacjusze*, have remained in the UK and the USA with no intention of returning to Poland after vacationing abroad, and have come to be (re)classified as illegal immigrants (Erdmans, 1998).

9. Push vs. pull factors. As I mentioned earlier (page 55), push-pull theorists such as Kunz, too readily assume that this factor operates within a rational world, where choice exists to make 'flight' decisions (Cohen, 1996: xv). This particular model perhaps resembles most the migratory journey made by (most definitely) the vast majority of Polish civilians who were displaced as a result of WWII, as well as those migrating as a result of poverty and hardship during the various partitions (Dolan,

²⁵ The Russian Jews had suffered three decades of anti-Jewish legislation (resulting in pogroms), which were implemented after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II (Holmes, 1995).

1997).

Migration has traditionally been viewed as occurring broadly as a result of push and pull factors. The 'push' factor of the (future) migrant is seen as the old home environment, which provides the 'causal motivation' to leave (often) the country of birth. The 'pull' factor is seen as the targeted country, which provides a purpose and therefore a destination for the migration to take place (Kunz, 1973: 131). As I have already made clear, with regard to limited choice when looking at the most recent displacement of Polish refugees during WWII, and as Cohen also contends, this model is too mechanical, and as a result it leaves very little room for intervening obstacles (Cohen, 1996: xv).

Although as I have made clear (page 55), that I disagree with certain elements of Kunz's theorising, I do on the whole concur with his modified version of the pull-push theory. He allows for intervening obstacles, because he rationalised not only that refugees often have intermediate stages where they settle temporarily, such as refugee camps etc.; before arriving at permanent destinations²⁶; but, also that their various movements towards their eventual points of settlement are 'akin to that of a billiard ball: devoid of inner direction, their path is governed by ... outside forces

²⁶ Some of my second generation Poles resided for various lengths of time during their adolescence in Displaced Persons camps (DP). One of the adverse aspects of displacement is that refugees may find leaving the temporary shelter of the DP camp not possible, as it becomes the only environment which they were now able to identify with. Stralkowska's (1993) study of 1st generation Poles who had become institutionalized, and as a result have become permanent residents in one such temporary DP camp, calls this inability to cope with the outside world, coupled with the loss of their former Polish lives, 'cultural bereavement'.

applied on them' (Kunz, 1973: 131).

He expanded the 'anticipatory movement'²⁷ into *push-permit*, since strictly speaking, refugees require permission to enter a new country; and he expanded 'acute refugee movement', into *push-pressure-plunge*, *push-pressure-stay*, and *push-pressure-return*, to reflect more accurately the kinds of internal dynamics within migratory flows (Kunz, 1973). The second and third categories are self-evident, as they indicate that refugees' final destinations may be either a new home elsewhere, or if conditions allow, they may elect to return to their own country.

The *push-pressure-plunge* category is the most useful model of acute refugee settler movements, such as those of the Poles (Ibid.). In order to explain the Poles' unique position as refugees and its subsequent impact on their identities as political refugees and exiles (Sword, 1996), two points must be made clear; since of course these models must to some extent be viewed as heuristic in nature, rather than be expected to be a suitable fit for all displaced refugees or migrants. Firstly, Kunz classifies all displaced persons who 'refuse' to return to their country of origin, as doing so by 'choice' (Kunz, 1973: 135). For the Poles from the Eastern territories of course, this was not possible. After the Teheran and subsequent Yalta Agreements, these territories were no longer part of Poland, and therefore many such Poles (who were either part of the Allied forces, prisoners of war, as well as refugees) no longer

²⁷ These have been already raised by me under no.6 theory of migration, pages 55-56.

had a homeland to which they might return (Sword *et al.*, 1989, Sword, 1996; Zubrzycki, 1953, 1956, 1988).

Secondly, as a result of the shared experiences of flight patterns and a shared sense of fate, Kunz (1981: 140) developed the concept of *vintages*, which he described very clearly as, ‘departure and transit cohorts uniting people with shared experiences before and during displacement, who because of their shared timing of departure often hold common views and attitudes.’

This sense of identity was to persist and remain with many first generation Poles throughout their lives, causing friction between them and their offspring in years to come (Sword, 1996). This was particularly true for those Poles who were too young to remember Poland clearly, yet retained the bonding effects of their particular *vintage*, as a substitute in part, for *their* cultural identities (Ibid.).

The final yet important point to make here, before I move on to the next section, is the significance of being subjected to ‘forced’ (refugee/political/exile) rather than ‘unforced’ (economic) migration. The consequences of being in the former category, such as (all) my first generation respondents were, would mean that at some point in the future, having to decide between risking their freedom by returning to Poland if only for a short visit, and having to give up their political status; or, staying put in the UK (or US) and continuing to support the ‘fight’ against the oppressive Communist regime. The Communist government in Poland was eventually

recognized by the two other arbiters involved in the talks at Yalta, namely Britain and America shortly after WWII. As a result, the Polish government-in-exile (established by members from her pre-war 'independence' days), lost any powers that it might have had. Many of the exiled Poles, especially those who were part of the Polish military (e.g. army and navy), voiced grave concerns about their own safety were they to attempt a return to Poland. Official documents secreted out of Poland confirmed that all those who were now seen as enemies of the state, would be either sent to soviet labour-camps, or shot. A visit to their homeland meant applying for British citizenship, which in turn meant losing their status as political exiles and refugees, since International Refugee Organisation (IRO) Travel Documents issued to bona fide refugees were not recognized for travel to one's own country of origin (Sword, 1996: 41-43). Such decisions were to involve much 'soul-searching', with many Poles seeing it as capitulating to the Communist regime, and compromising their ideological position and defiant stand against the aforesaid regime (Ibid. p. 42). These circumstances served to emphasize their unusual status as political exiles (Sword, 1996; Staniewicz, 1994).

Notions of Ethnicity: What it means to be 'Polish' in the UK and the USA.²⁸

I will now move on to looking at the various collections of literature on Polonian communities, and discuss the notion of (Polish) ethnic identity, within the context of British and American environments. This section of reviewed literature will attempt

²⁸ I will be discussing several aspects of (Polish) ethnicity within the methodology chapter (Three), when I look at problems regarding operationalising ethnicity as a research variable.

to focus the prevailing, rather eclectic assortment of research and writings on the Poles (as a distinct ethnic group) who arrived and settled in the UK (and US) as a result of the Second World War. In Britain, white ethnic groups and their cultural identities are particularly under researched in most contexts (Hickman, 1997; Williams, 1993), and the Poles lamentably, are no exception; whereas there are substantial pockets of literature on Polonian communities in America, although these appear to have in the main been written from within the Polish community itself.

In looking at the various studies, books and articles that collectively detail: the various customs, values and beliefs which ethnic minorities bring with them to a any new country; it is clear that their new lifestyles inevitably forced first generation Poles to engage in ongoing (re)evaluations of standards and norms which (in their country of origin) they took for granted, as they attempted to acculturalise (Zubrzycki, 1953, 1956; Hitch, 1975; Jagucki, 1983; Braitto, 1988; Gula, 1993; Strzalkowska, 1993; Wytrwal, 1969; Wrobel, 1975; Mostwin, 1971; Lopata, 1976; Waters, 1990). They felt as though they were uprooted, and alienated from the host society which did not acknowledge their own values in the same light. Accordingly, various studies on the impact on migrants and refugees per se, have established (in such a set of circumstances), a causal relationship between (forced) migration and mental illness (WUS, 1981; Hitch & Rack, 1982; Rack, 1986; Braitto, 1988; Bram, 1983; Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1989; Curren & Stacey, 1986; Pilgrim & Rogers,

1993; Abrams, 1978, 1980; Bagley, 1971; Block, 1976; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Eitinger, 1959, 1960; Jagucki, 1983; Krupinski *et al.*, 1973; Krupinski, 1967; Collins, 1988; Bhopal & White, 1993).

As the main portion of all available literature in the UK has tended to deal with: Polish culture and folklore; religion and the Polish Catholic Mission; (political) history; education and economic integratory aspects; there is a need to bring to the fore whatever little is available for my particular area of study, research on first and second generation Poles, and those elements of 'Polishness' passed from the first, to the second generation²⁹.

I have already addressed earlier in this thesis, certain aspects of Polish culture, as I raised them in reference to Polish history and her partitions. These are seen to be pertinent to Polish culture (as well as of course, being important in varying degrees to other ethnic groups), and therefore will only briefly reiterate their meaning to this culture, where necessary. Such examples are the role of the mother, and the historical importance of religion and nationalism. As Anthias says, 'women are the

²⁹ For further discussion see:

UK literature: Sword *et al.*, 1989, Sword, 1996; Gula, 1993; Braitto, 1988; Zubrzycki, 1953, 1956, 1988, 1992; Patterson, 1963, 1964, 1977, 1987, Temple, 1993, 1994b; Hitch, 1975; Hitch & Rack, 1982; Rack, 1982, 1986; Rutrzeba, 1945; Szczepanski, 1970; Jagucki, 1983; Bram, 1983; Zebrowska, 1986; Wojciechowska-Kibble, 1976; Strzalkowska, 1993; Suchcitz, 1995; Super, 1939; Dyboski, 1950; Lichtarowicz, 1992;

US literature: Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918-21; Pula, 1995; Lopata, 1976; Znaniecka Lopata, 1976, 1993; Wytrwal, 1969, 1977, 1982, 1992, Erdmans, 1992, 1998; Bukowczyk, 1987, 1996, 1996b; Kantowicz, 1975; Mackun, 1964; Morawska, 1995; Maisel, 1955; Mostwin, 1971; Piotrowski, 1998; Renkiewicz, 1973; Schneider, 1990; Wrobel, 1975; Model, 1986; Waters, 1990; Zand, 1956; Haiman, 1948; Pienkos, 1978; Zagraniczny, 1963; Obidinski, 1968; Radzialowski & Binkowski, 1978; Krolkowski, 1981; Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 1996b.

transmitters and reproducers of ethnic and national ideologies and central in the transmission of cultural rules' (1998: 571). In his discussion on the important role of mothers in Polish culture, especially during the last partition, Super (1939:131) bears this out, in that a mother was:

the chief factor in the preservation of the Polish tongue and tradition in the days when to speak Polish and to teach Polish history was a crime; she was a mainstay in religion, and an active participant in social welfare work; she was a strong moral force acting in support of the man.

Over the years, much has been written about the cohesive and stabilising element of the Polish Roman Catholic faith (and therefore its many churches³⁰) in émigré communities all over the world (for extensive references see Gula's bibliography, 1993). But it is not just Poles and clergymen who have noted the influence that religion has had on man. Sociologists such as Durkheim (1984:53) have said that religion, 'is not a sort of luxury which a man could go along without, but a condition of his very existence. He could not be a man, if he had not acquired it.'

Equally, my first generation respondents grew up in an era of uncertainty and subsequent political turmoil in the history of Poland, namely the fleeting period of freedom between the years 1918-1939. Hence the role of religion has played a large part in their formative years, acting as the key instrument in imparting the varied precepts, which they were to maintain as principles to uphold throughout their lives as émigrés (Gula, 1993).

³⁰ I will be raising the issue of the schisms within the Polish Catholic church in America, later in this section, on page 72-73.

This last statement is fundamental in expressing (once again) to the reader the inherent nature of religion in this culture. Braito (1988) underscores the point of the importance of religion *and its relationship to nationalism*³¹, by saying that for Poles, to consider one in any context, is to simultaneously consider the other.

Literature on Polonia and its post-war development has centered almost exclusively, both here (Brzenk, 1957; Zubrzycki, 1953, 1956, 1988, 1992; Sword *et al.*, 1989; Sword, 1996; Zebrowska, 1986; Patterson, 1964, 1977) and in the US, (Mostwin, 1971; Wrobel, 1975; Lopata, 1976; Znaniecka Lopata, 1993; Wytrwal, 1969, 1977, 1982, 1992), on the development of the community's various formal or public institutions; particularly via 'the study of men and their public presentations of Polish organizations' (Temple, 1994b: 1³²). As with the influx of any new newly arrived minority ethnic group, there is always interest (or concern, depending on your perspective), in how this group will 'fit' or become accommodated into the host environment. (For example, Zubrzycki's perspective was that of a Pole, and his concerns were primarily that the Polish culture would diminish over time, as a result of 'exposure' to the host environment). Zubrzycki (1956), and others such as

³¹ It is important to explain here what is the Polish notion of nationalism. Polish sociologists (F. Znaniecki, S. Ossowski) accepted that the nation was a cultural rather than a political community. As I will illustrate (in Ch. 2), as even with its history of partitions and divisions, Poles proved that national culture was a stronger and more binding element than the government and the state. Nationalism also differed from Western definitions by reason of its strong ethical aspect. In the Polish sense, nationalism distanced itself from national egoism, and fighting for one's country was seen as a sign of loyalty yet not at the expense of other nations. In the everyday sense therefore, nationalism in this context (intuitively) means one word – patriotism, see Braito, 1988, Davies, 1984, Wytrwal, 1977, Zamoyski, 1987.

³² Bogusia Temple, 1994b, draws much needed attention to the limitations of the literature on (post-war) Poles in her analysis of it, which I make use of in the following discussion.

Patterson (1963, 1977), attributed the Chicago School's approach as the basis of their own analyses in studying the social integration of Poles (and in the case of Patterson, other ethnic groups), within their new society.

Park and Burgess (1921) of the Chicago School³³ developed their now legendary four-step model, to illustrate the various stages 'newcomers' passed through as they integrate more and more into their new domicile. Each step represents movement along a social process: the first step is *competition* within the market place; the second is *conflict*, where the 'politicization of competition and awareness of each group's distinctiveness' occurs (Temple, 1994b: 5); the third step is *accommodation*, which they saw as an 'unstable equilibrium' (Ibid.); and the fourth step is *assimilation*, where differences between both the indigenous and 'newcomer' group had been worked out to substantial levels. However, Park and Burgess (unlike Zubrzycki, 1953, and - to some extent - Patterson, 1963: 10, 1977) did not assume that this final stage would lead to total assimilation or absorption of the minority group into the majority group, nor did they assume that the influence of culture would be only one-way.

Zubrzycki (1956) on the other hand, presented a three-stage model of adjustment of the Poles to their new society: *conflict*, *accommodation*, and *assimilation*. He saw their adjustment as being influenced by the development of the aforementioned formal organizations (political and religious and other types), such as the

³³ The development of their model was influenced by Thomas and Znaniecki's work, 1918-1921, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*.

Combatants', and Paratroopers' Associations, Polish shops and eateries, the Polish newspaper (in fact called *The Soldier's Daily*), and the various Polish parishes which had formed to cater for the spiritual needs of Poles throughout the UK.

Sheila Patterson on the other hand, considered the Poles' transition into British life as a 'process of absorption' (1963: 9) and the various phases were thought by her to be (in reverse order of absorption): *assimilation*, this meant 'complete adaptation by the immigrants ... to the values and patterns of the receiving society' (1963: 10), but she personally believed that complete assimilation rarely occurred; *integration*, or *cultural pluralism*, whereas 'assimilation' applied either to individuals or groups, 'integration' applied only to groups, and was where adaptation took place in certain spheres, but retaining some elements of a group existence, mainly via its newly formed institutions; and *accommodation*, also applied to either individuals or groups, and was defined as 'the achieving of a *modus vivendi* between newcomers and the receiving society' (1963: 14).

Patterson's definition of *accommodation* is the same as Zubrzycki's, but she had *cultural pluralism* within her integration phase, whereas Zubrzycki had no integration phase, and used assimilation to mean the eventual total absorption of the newcomers' group. Both presented their models as indicators of movement either towards integration or not, for the *whole* Polish settlement in Britain.

It was also impossible to distinguish between the rôle of the Polish Church, and the social events, which were usually housed in parish buildings, and often run by, the church body representatives (Gula, 1993; Wytrwal, 1977). Wrobel (1975) maintains that it was not possible to study Polonia, without at the same time, looking at the influence of the Polish Church, with one being linked inextricably with the other. Gula's (1993) study, of the relationship of religion to the Polish exiled community in Britain, also bears this out.

Temple (1994, 1994b) maintains, and I agree with her, that internal conflicts were not addressed in the earlier studies on the Poles in Britain, and neither were any studies carried out that looked at individuals within the community (rather such studies only analysed levels of integration at an aggregate level). The assumption was therefore, that the Polish community was homogeneous in its aspirations and aims, and that the personal philosophies of the various formal institutions represented the goals of the whole of Polonia (1994, 1994b). Temple clearly indicates in her study that 'it is not possible to look at minority/majority relations by concentrating solely on public or group behaviour' (Temple, 1994b: 12). She has shown that the 'Polish community' is differentiated, and comprises many kinds of Poles (both female and male), who maintain their own kinds of 'Polishness' in ways which are in direct contrast to those postulated by Poles (mainly males), who hold up formal aspects of the community as de facto representations of Polonia (Temple, 1994b: 12). In very much the same way, I anticipated that by addressing the

‘intersectionality’ (Anthias, 1988: 570) of class, gender, and environment, coupled with the differing experiences of my BPP, PMO, and PFO respondents, that they would probably exhibit their respectively diverse kinds of ‘Polishness’ when interviewed, and as such endorse a different range of markers denoting ‘ethnic boundary maintenance’ (Ibid.) *explicitly for them*. If Zubrzycki’s premise were to hold, in that the political nature of the Polish community in Britain separated it from other minority ethnic groups, then its unchanging (static) nature would lead to its inevitable total absorption. That this is obviously not the case demonstrates, that the composition and character of the community at large, is in fact heterogeneous, and changes constantly; as existing second generation Poles whom Waters defines as having an element of choice or ‘symbolic ethnicity’ (1990: 150), make choices about their levels of maintained ‘Polishness’ in adulthood (depending on their personal frames of reference to ‘Polishness’); as well as Poles arriving from Poland, who add *their* notions of Polishness to the mix, and are but one faction of the group at large.

It must also be noted that second generation Poles will have taken their cue from parents who themselves were born in different regions in Poland, as well as being either rural or urban dwellers, who will also have had differing kinds of maintained Polish cultural traits. What this means is that not only do ethnic boundaries change, but that to some ‘members’ of the ethnic group, certain markers/ boundaries have very little relevance (Wallman, 1979, 1984)³⁴.

³⁴ Cited in Temple, 1994b: 13.

The Polish American Ethnic Identity.

The exploration of Polish ethnic identity in America, rather than focus on formal or public institutions, looked at the cultural process by tracing the Poles' earliest arrival to America, the development of their geographically distinct communities, and, their relationship with the mother country (Znaniacka Lopata, 1976b).

Neils Conzen (1979: 603) states that, 'the immigrant neighbourhood was for decades a distinctive element in the American urban landscape'. Because of the historical nature of the Polish immigration to the US due to the partitions, the majority of Poles (very much like other migrant groups), were part of the lower classes in the mother country, and came as poorly educated peasants from rural and agricultural areas, settling rarely in the South or West, but rather in the urban industrial areas of Chicago, Detroit, and Buffalo, or in the Pennsylvania mining towns, such as Scranton or Erie (Haiman, 1948; Zand, 1956). Wherever they settled, they formed their own enclaves (again, much like other migrant groups) with 'clear physical or social boundaries isolating them from the foreign and generally hostile dominant society and culture' (Znaniacka Lopata, 1976b: 18).

What is most certainly a truism, and true of other groups in the past, and each new group of Poles arriving to America (as well as to the UK), was that they were unable to reproduce the social structures and way of life of their homeland, consequently they 'reformulated their ideas, norms, and relations in the new environment', whilst at the same time trying to retain some measures of

‘solidarity, and social control while inventing new, stopgap measures to prevent complete demoralization’³⁵ (Znanięcka Lopata, 1976b: 18), where they gradually built communities of varying degrees of institutional complexity.

The American Poles are differentiated from other minority groups in three key ways, and as a result, these have affected their identity in America, at both the individual and group level. Firstly, their ties to the homeland were always very strong, and over the last century, Poles have shown their loyalty by contributing millions of dollars, which have been sent to Poland in the form of aid³⁶ (Erdmans; 1998, Dolan, 1997; Gula, 1995), and were partly prompted by the following reason. They had never originally meant to come to America to stay and settle down, therefore ‘Americanisation’ was not something which they felt needed to be aspired to, and were engrossed in ongoing internal struggles for achievement recognition and self-worth validation. Znanięcka Lopata uses the term ‘status competition’ to describe these ongoing internal conflicts, and says that American Poles (Znanięcka Lopata, 1976b: 18):

displayed an ‘unusual lack of interest in American society ..., in acquiring traits that could gain them increasingly higher social status individually, in family units, or even as a subcommunity....

³⁵ Demoralization in Thomas & Znanięcki’s understanding, is where total social and moral degradation would occur (cited in Znanięcka Lopata, 1976b: 18).

³⁶ Indeed, many of the funds came from Polonian insurance and financial institutions (profits), which had been set up by the various Polish Church organizations in the US, to provide assistance to their Polish members in the event of death, etc. The Polish Roman Catholic Union (PRCU), was based in Chicago, and was *the* Polish RC fraternal institution in the US, and as such had many chapters in the US, which all added to the contributions for Polish aid.

[Their] attention was focused on Poland and the internal competition for status within Polonia³⁷

She goes on to say, that because of the ongoing foreign occupations, the American Poles did not resent those from their upper classes, as the national identity was seen to transcend these sorts of differences (Znaniacka Lopata, 1976b: 18), something which distinguished them from immigrants from other European countries (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976).

Secondly, their type of culture was singularly different from that of the established, Protestant, English-based, Western culture. They were unsuited to immediate daily participation in American life, for a number of reasons, and as a result experienced a very limited type of interaction with its established members. One of the main factors was of course the Poles' Catholic religious faith (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994; Pienkos, 1978; Zand, 1956; Erdmans, 1998; Bukowczyk, 1987; Kantowicz, 1975; Wytrwal, 1977). In addition to the Poles' distinctive religious rituals clashing with the Protestant clergy, their individualistic Catholic customs and celebrations were quite different in nature to the incumbent Roman Catholic Church in America, which was primarily controlled by the Irish (Linkh, 1975; Wytrwal, 1977).

This resulted in one of the most famous public schisms in Polish American history.

In short, the Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC), was founded by Bishop

³⁷ Znaniacka Lopata informed me (personal communication, 1997) that to this day, her theory on *status competition* has met with some criticism, especially from those who considered themselves the *Polonian intelligentsia*.

Hodor at the turn of the (20th) century. Like many of the Polish clergy, Bishop Hodor was unhappy, that despite countless petitions to Rome requesting that Polish priests be allowed to manage those parishes which were either all, or predominantly Polish, these requests were never realised, and a succession of non-Polish priests were sent out as pastors, often to communities who spoke very little other than Polish (Wytrwal, 1977).

The main characteristics of the PNCC were: a lay board of control; priests being able to marry and have children; masses said in Polish instead of Latin, and in later years, the addition of English language; and perhaps most importantly its rejection of the pope, and the assumed nature of the pope's flawlessness (Ibid.).

The third and last feature, which distinguished American Poles from other minority groups, was really to do with their relative size as an ethnic group. Ironically, a large size contributes to social isolation. The Poles had been so successful in providing for themselves (making it a point of honour not to expect outside aid), with the multiplicity of Polonian voluntary associations mentioned earlier, which furnished them with highly competitive mortgages, they were also able to self-finance the building of many Polish parochial schools³⁸, etc. All these factors were seen to, over time, increase 'the probability of prejudice and discrimination from other groups',

³⁸ The 'mass' building of parochial schools was unique to the Polonian community, and other ethnic groups such as the Italians, did not develop any such network. By 1957, there were 769 schools with 214,000 children in attendance, comprising descendents of Poles, as well as those children from the post-war era, my second generation equivalents. However, it must be said that the take-up of this was never more than two thirds of all (Polish American) children (Krolikowski, 1981: 53-55).

which grew in concert with the complex nature of the growing Polish community as it carried on being self-sustaining; and part of this success was due to the intense internal 'highly developed status competition' (Znanińska Lopata, 1976b: 19; Obidinski, 1968).

While Polonia was taking shape as a sizable and distinct ethnic community in the US, there was growing interest in examining differences between the various ethnic groups in America, and how they fared, in competing for limited resources (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976; Radzialowski & Binkowski, 1978), resulting in the straight-line *assimilation* theory being challenged during the period of cultural pluralism (the 'unmeltable ethnic' theory) (Glaser & Moynihan, 1970; Novak, 1971; Gans, 1979), and finally rejected, after the arrival of the new post-1965 wave of immigrants from Latin America and Asia. For example, work by Alejandro Portes and colleagues, who replaced *assimilation* with *incorporation*, after recognizing that all immigrants do not all follow the same route of *incorporation* into America³⁹. As a result, social scientists now question whether during the process of integration, 'ethnics fully abandoned, or lost their distinctiveness' (Erdmans, 1998: 19).

Another example, is that in keeping with (ethnic) America's 'public presentations' of group identity (Schneider, 1990), it was inevitable that those Poles arriving in the US as DPs or émigrés would also belong to a Polish American fraternal

³⁹ Recommended further reading (as cited in Erdmans, 1998: 19, Fn 2): Portes and Manning's concept of immigrant enclaves (1986); the transformation of identity- rather than being lost – into political identities (Portes & Rambaut, 1990, Ch. 7).

organisation. But many arriving post-war Poles found that they had little in common with the established 'Old Polonia's' fraternal, as well as the 'specific working-class way of life adopted by the majority of Polish Americans' (Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 1996b: 164), and so decided to set up their own.

During the 1970's, it became increasingly clear that geographically based cultural identities and shared symbols alone were no longer a prerequisite in maintaining one's ethnicity (Waters, 1990), and upwardly mobile Poles began to leave the confines of the enclave, to take up jobs outside the community, which enabled them to begin competing directly with other ethnic groups (Bukowczyk, 1996b).

Therefore despite assimilationist theories which had predicted an erosion of maintained ethnicity, directly as a result of diminished residential segregation and traditional occupational type (in the case of Poles, the 'blue collar worker' tag⁴⁰), national surveys⁴¹ showed that the 'apparently dispersed' later generation American ethnic individuals, continued to identify with their ethnic group, with their voting patterns, certain attitudes, and beliefs (Greeley, 1971, 1974). This geographical 'upheaval' seemed to confirm the pluralist perspective of the *non*-inevitability of ethnic assimilation (Greeley, 1971, 1974; Novak, 1971).

⁴⁰ The 'popular' (sic) identity of Poles' that formed as a backdrop to Polonia's development was that of 'blue collar worker' (Erdmans, 1998; Lopata, 1976), but *in association with the Poles*, it often ascribed a defamatory meaning.

⁴¹ These surveys were the General Social Survey (GSS), of the National Opinion Research Center; the national Survey of American Catholics (1963); and political/voting studies which ask for ethnic group, such as the Michigan Election Survey (Cited in Waters, 1990: 9).

It must be said that the Chicago School's premise that assimilation would occur as a function of length of residence in the US, was contextually visualised (from an early 1900's) sociohistorical perspective of studying immigrants from lower class origins. These individuals were generally poorly educated, and had very few skills which they could negotiate or barter with in the labour market, and as such, just as I have illustrated with the Poles, their early survival was predicated on maintaining geographical solidarity, and changes in their internal structure were not given too much attention, (Mindel and Habenstein, 1976). Greeley (1971, 1974) argued that even when events occur which may appear to dilute ethnic bonds, such as ethnic intermarriage, data indicated that ethnic identity was still maintained, such as continued self-identification of (both) partners listing their original ethnicity in surveys, and the continued socio-economic and attitudinal differences, even into the third or fourth generation of the (original) ethnic intermarriages.

Another example of such a change would be the influx of large numbers of new members to an established group whose socio-economic composition was quite different in nature to (at the very least when compared with the stereotypical notion of) many members of the ethnic group already in America (Mostwin, 1971; Erdmans, 1998; Bukowczyk, 1996b). For the Poles, one such recent change happened with the arrival of the post-war émigrés and DPs, and substantially altered the composition of Polonia, where the main differentiation and cause of internal friction between some members of this wave and some members of 'Old Polonia'

was often one of social class as well as a different outlook on Polonian life (Mostwin, 1971; Znaniecka Lopata, 1976, 1994). They were also seen as the ‘new immigrants’ by established Polonia (Erdmans, 1998.). This post-war wave (equivalent to the UK first generation), which settled in America, comprised but one of several kinds of maintained Polish communities.

The arrival of the subsequent post-Solidarity wave, formed its own sub-community, and mode of ethnicity maintenance, which was one fashioned from a Poland under Communist rule. They saw no distinction between the post-war arrivals and the long established ‘Old Polonia’, whereas the latter (Old Polonians) still referred to the former (post-war Polonians) as immigrant Poles, as opposed to American Poles (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994). However, as the relative ‘newcomers’, they in turn are described as the ‘immigrants’ and the existing Polonians, *including* post-war Poles, as ‘ethnics’ by American academics (Erdmans, 1998).

Changes over time therefore within an ethnic group were inevitable, but the fact that ethnicity was maintained, albeit altered over time and place, served to demonstrate that the fundamental importance of an individual’s ethnicity and identity, was not always tied or restricted to its formal representation (such as being members of the ethnic groups’ public institutions)⁴².

⁴² See pp. 68-69 of this work, where this same argument applies to UK Polonia.

Morton Weinfeld (1981, 1979)⁴³ points out that even without group political and/or social activity, members of an ethnic group can have a very real attachment to an ethnic collectivity, which may manifest itself as a symbol representing their own meaning of ethnicity. In very much the same way Temple argues that there is no such thing as 'authentic' or 'inauthentic' culture, rather multiple understandings of one's ethnic identity. It is in effect a dynamic process, quite inseparable from the influences of the political and social environments within which it is being maintained (Temple, 1994b).

LITERATURE ON HEALTH, AND HEALTH AND ETHNICITY.

Health and Illness Models.

The dominant paradigm in modern medicine is the (bio) medical model, and may also be referred to as 'scientific' or 'mechanistic', it is used to understand and to explain how to implement the treatment of bodily disorders (Kleinman, 1978, 1986; Stacey, 1988). It is therefore a model of disease. It is known as a 'bio' model since its aims are to provide relief via scientific valuation of the cause. The implication being that such methods embrace objectivity and total equitability in their provision to indigenous and migrant populations alike (Ahmad, 1989, 1992a, 1993; Curren & Stacey, 1986).

⁴³ Cited in Waters, 1990: 7.

The notion that a model based on the human body as a (metaphorical) machine comprising divisible and independently treatable components, has for some time been seen as inappropriate by social scientists (Bowling, 1991; Hunt, 1981; Ahmad, 1993) and clinicians alike (Littlewood and Lipsedge, 1989; Rack, 1982, 1986).

Illness can be noted as a result of pathological abnormality, but not necessarily so, as an individual can feel unwell without medical science being able to detect symptoms, etc. Measures of health status used in the Western world therefore focus on negative concepts (i.e. disease and illness). The social origin of disease has little influence in most clinical assessments, with its aetiology being firmly rooted beyond the context of a feeling and thinking subject. A trend in social research reflects the point that other conditions are relevant, and work has focused in the utilisation of the role of social and psychological factors in the onset of disease.

This has been admirably demonstrated by Brown and Harris' study (1978) on the social causation of clinical depression. The introduction of concepts such as stress and the effects of life-events into this mainstream paradigm are eagerly awaited, because until this is achieved the limitations of the medical model does injustice not only to those ethnic groups requiring explanations beyond its scope, but also to the indigenous disadvantaged groups it currently fails. As Tudor-Hart noted (1971, p.412) some years ago, that 'the availability of good medical care tends to vary inversely with the need of the population served'.

An often cited alternative to the dominant medical model is one constructed by Arthur Kleinman⁴⁴ (1978, 1986). Kleinman examines those concepts and theories used to compare medical systems as *cultural* systems, in the hope that they could be used cross-culturally. His model consists of what he calls three 'sectors' or 'arenas' of healing. These are called the 'popular', the 'folk' and the 'professional'.

Kleinman was interested in the interrelationship between these three areas which are often seen as separate. He argued that health systems could only be understood by characterising the social (i.e. cultural) formations in which they were embedded.

Such a health system would only prove useful if:

1. It allowed the operationalisation of culture in a more specific and quantifiable way within the health domain;
2. It could aid in the provision of a terminology not restricted to biomedicine, thus making cross-cultural comparisons between differing medical systems easier;
3. It was always remembered that medical systems are both social and cultural.

HEALTH AND ETHNICITY.

Major Explanations For Migrant Health.

The most comprehensive evidence to date compiled about the health of ethnic minority populations is to be found in two studies, these having been derived from nationally collected mortality data. These two are:

- The OPCS Immigrant Mortality Study (Marmot *et al.*, 1984). This comprises the mortality rates of foreign-born residents of England and Wales. This study covers data from the years 1970 - 1972.

⁴⁴ This explanation of Kleinman, and quotes, are taken from Stacey's, *The Sociology of Health and Healing*, 1988, pp.28-30.

- The OPCS Mortality and Geography study (Britton, 1990). This includes work by Balarajan & Bulusu (pp 103-121). This comprises mortality data on foreign-born residents of England and Wales relating to the years 1979 - 1983.

These two are widely used by two main groups of people as they provide (decennial) mortality statistics by area (and related characteristics like country of birth). The first set of users is health and other public administrators. Their needs are concerning the provision and distribution of resources, which creates a need to know and therefore compare performances between areas as well as service expenditure, such as long-term palliative care. The second set of users constitutes epidemiologists and other researchers (for example those concerned with ethnicity, urban geography, etc.). Such users are often concerned with particular diseases, local variations in socio-economic circumstances, the distribution of industry and the local environment⁴⁵.

Here are some examples of the data from the above two OPCS studies, in relation to the figures presented regarding the Irish, (bearing in mind those points made by Williams a little later in this chapter, on pp. 86-7).

Irish immigration goes back two centuries, motivated by population and economic pressures in Ireland, and by the prospect of employment opportunities offered by Britain. The majority of the Irish-born population registered in the 1971 Census (54%) were found to be long-time residents, having entered the UK before 1955.

⁴⁵ Work carried out on the Irish (Rory Williams, 1992, 1994, 1994b, Mullen, 1994; Mullen, Williams & Hunt, 1993), relies extensively on such figures.

Due to lack of restriction of movement (unlike in the case for first generation Poles), between Ireland and the United Kingdom, no useful records are kept. Once in residence, records show that they occupy a disproportionately high number of positions in Classes IV and V (semi-skilled and unskilled manual).

Perhaps the most striking set of figures to be derived from the 1971 Census on the Irish immigrant (Table A14.2, Marmot *et al.*, 1984:68), is the high mortality from almost every specific cause. As the mortality from the main groups listed is not high in Ireland, Marmot *et al.* (1984:68) give the following as an explanation by saying that, 'this suggests the operation of some general factors related to mortality' (my emphasis). It is also suggested that the ease of migration itself (the above stated lack of restriction), between Ireland and England & Wales might account in part for these high all-cause mortality rates. The rationale being that health selection dictates that ordinarily those with ill health do not tend to migrate due to entrance barriers put into force by the receiving country (this hypothesis will be discussed later). In addition to this, there is some discussion of the possibility that the migrants in question are too ill to return to Ireland, but it is noted that this would still leave the question of why some disorders are more prevalent than others.

Suicide rates, which are much higher than in the home country, are notably not seen as reflecting anything other than the way cause of death might be assigned in different ways in the home and host countries. Whereas the higher mortality from accidents and violence of both Scottish and Irish immigrants being higher than the

home rates, is speculated to relate (significantly) to the circumstances surrounding migration.

If economic disadvantage is the reason for the high mortality, Marmot *et al.* (1984) state that it is not being measured by the conventional index of social class, namely that based on occupation. Their findings indicated that within each social class (once again) the all-cause SMR was higher for Irish male immigrants than for the England & Wales average for each class. In summary, they conceded that some factor(s) (other than the social class measure), had to be responsible for the high mortality of Irish immigrants.

In addition to providing a decennial supplement for England and Wales the OPCS has included an update to these figures produced by Marmot *et al.* (1984). This update was carried out by Britton (1990), and shows the following trends with regards to Irish immigrants. The most significant characteristic is that the Irish rates consistently indicate, that as an ethnic group, their mortality differentials do not over time align themselves with the SMR of the host country, namely England and Wales. In the case of those persons born of Irish parents, not only do the figures indicate raised SMRs taken against those of the host country but also in some cases, higher SMRs than in the home country. (This does not appear to support the hypothesis of cultural (genetic) inheritance as an explanation for sustained figures).

The OPCS Longitudinal Study (LS: socio-economic mortality differentials, 1971-75, No.1.1982; Linked Census Data, 1988), has in fact been used to test the hypothesis regarding Irish immigrants that such immigrant groups, do over time, take on the morbidity and mortality patterns of the host country. Britton confirms that the results of this analysis (Raftery *et al.*, 1990) which looked at 1971-81 data do *not* support this hypothesis. The high SMRs observed, apply to persons born outside Ireland, with either one or two Irish born parents. Britton suggests that the 'degree of Irishness' has little effect on the observed raised mortality. Furthermore, this analysis does not support the contention that the overall raised mortality levels in the second generation result solely from social class differences.

These two OPCS studies do provide an extensive range of constructive mortality statistics, and have furnished an important basis from which to try to understand ethnic minorities' health experiences. One of the drawbacks is however that these statistics are absolute ones, collated to the exclusion of morbidity rates. Another limitation is that figures are often presented as aggregates - particularly the South Asian ones. As with data on the Poles, these have arbitrarily not been provided or updated in certain sections, from the first study (1984) to the second (1990).

Additionally, the figures are derived only from England and Wales and given the nature of such data, the inclusion of Scotland and N. Ireland would serve to enhance at the very least (statistically) their significance regarding spatiality and ethnic

mortality. But the aspect that I and others take issue with⁴⁶, is that the data examined refers only to people born abroad, namely first generation migrants. Consequently, very important information regarding intergenerational health trends, urban geography, etc. is missing for those people whose parent(s) and grandparent(s) were from an ethnic minority origin.

This omission coupled with that of morbidity figures undermines the potentiality to test various hypotheses, as differences in the health of migrants might result from a combination of the various possible explanations. For example, the process of migration, the lack of social policies, and/or the negative perception of migrants generally by the host country, may (or may not) also impact on subsequent generations in a variety of ways.

This notwithstanding, there is slow but continued expansion in the field of research which looks at the health trends for subsequent generations. Two principal examples of such research highlighting the following are:

- 1. Using OPCS Longitudinal Survey Data, Raftery *et al.* (1990) (briefly mentioned on page 84), carried out an important study of British born residents (from England and Wales) who had one or both parents that were born in Ireland.

Their findings showed that their sample (controlling for other relevant

⁴⁶ Smaje (1995); Williams (1992); Raftery *et al.* (1990), are a number of those researchers in the field of Ethnicity and Health, who contend that many problems arise in intergenerational research due to a lack of data for baseline comparison in Britain.

characteristics, as well as for effects associated with gender, and the year of migration), experienced persistently increased mortality rates.

2 - Rory Williams (1992) has also illustrated the problems incurred in relating an unsuitable hypothesis to ethnicity/health data. His work and others (Ahmad, 1993), has revealed the racialised nature of assimilationist assumptions which underpins many race theories. He shows conclusively that the Irish are not in fact the 'classic example of assimilation' as believed to be the case in Britain, and that 'there is reason to suggest that disadvantage may have persisted for more than a century' (1992:98). Furthermore, he indicates (as do Cochrane and Bahl, 1989; Cochrane, 1977) the existence of simultaneous positive and negative health selection in subpopulations. As a result of such findings, doubts have been cast on assuming the validity of the unitary selection hypothesis - particularly in the case of the Irish.

Williams maintains (1992: 81):

The agencies which define "ethnicity" for the purpose of official statistics have steadfastly ignored their [white ethnic minorities'] existence, and have classed them, remarkably, together with Italians, Cypriots, Poles, Jews and innumerable other sizable minorities, as possessors of the same "ethnicity" as the English – one characterised by the racialised label "white".

Williams states that there has 'been a curious silence on the subject of religion in medical sociology' (1993: 71), with sociology in particular tending to treat religion as an epiphenomenon. This is partly understandable given that the rise of medical sociology coincided as it were, with a period of steep decline in

churchgoing (Currie *et al.*, 1977). This notwithstanding, and perhaps more to the point, the university culture during this period was antipathetic to religion (Wadsworth and Freeman, 1983); and the sociology of illness taking its cue from the world of medicine itself became highly secularised, hence viewing the study of social life and religion within it in this manner.

The risk is of course that religion is not attributed as being an inherent part of many ethnic groups' culture (such as the Irish and Poles), and therefore their way of life, and so institutional religion (as seen by the academic/medical sociologist) tends to diverge from, rather than invoke an understanding of personal systems of meaning (Gans, 1993).

However, for some groups such as the Poles, concepts of health and illness are expressed via these (religiously imbued) dialogues with the outside world (or host groups) (Braito, 1988; Pandolfi, 1990). Equally important, is that host groups may have their own personal and cultural frames of reference and world-views used to interpret those same illnesses - such as Protestants in Scotland (Williams, 1990, 1992a), as well as religious convictions re alcohol and tobacco consumption (Mullen, Williams & Hunt, 1993).

I wish lastly to summarise the main hypotheses put forward as explanations for migrant populations' health trends. This is because not only are the OPCS studies themselves used to explain such trends; but also, it follows that as a result of this

usage the hypotheses themselves have some inherent weaknesses. The following hypotheses⁴⁷ for each of which there would be an anticipated pattern of evidence are classified under five main headings:

1/ Health as Heredity.

The way in which health is inherited may be thought of as genetic, or cultural, or some unspecified mix of both, and is usually seen as impervious to environmental influence. Therefore, the implication of heredity is usually that migrants retain the health pattern of their country of origin.

The separation of 'race and health' in research (particularly by those insisting on applying the mechanistic nature of the biomedical model in an attempt to explain ethnicity/health), often leads to the misconception that race is a biological reality and not a socially constructed category. The dominance of clinical and epidemiological studies is problematic, in that the development of 'scientific racism' (Ahmad, 1993) has gathered strength of genetically discernable inherited disorders associated with black and minority ethnic groups. This leads to a predilection to reducing complex sets of social relations to crude factors.

2/ Health Selection.

Because selection works as well with chance factors as with permanent attributes e.g. selection favouring health favours migrants who happen to be healthy at the time of migration as well as the few who remain healthy all their lives – its effects

⁴⁷ The first paragraph of each explication is taken, in the main, directly from Rory William's *The Health Of The Irish*, 1992, pp.82-83.

are usually expected to fade with time. The implication is that migrants will initially differ from the country of origin's pattern of health, but are expected to revert back in time. Therefore, a health selection theory may be either positive (supporting the healthy), or negative (supporting the sick).

Although selection is often advanced as an explanation of migrant health patterns, the empirical evidence is sparse (Marmot *et al.*, 1984). There are many instances to indicate that health selection does not occur specifically as a precursor to the migratory process. Such examples might be the enforced departure of South Asians from East Africa, or East Europeans during WWII. However, such a hypothesis is extremely difficult to confirm as precise details would be required which looked at the situation of the groups in question - analysing samples from host as well as country of origin.

3/ Migration Stress.

This is the (physical and/or mental) trauma associated with the migratory process itself. The assumption is that as the migrants settle into their new lifestyles, their health patterns should revert to earlier healthier ones. The experience of migration is probably the most cited explanation as one which has an impact on health (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1989; Hull, 1979; Anwar, 1979).

Hull (1989)⁴⁸, notes that her research suggests that factors such as 'cultural dissimilarity' often result in poorer health amongst migrants.

⁴⁸ Cited in Williams, 1993.

4/ Assimilation.

This can also be called *acculturation*. [Although these are two distinct constructs, they are often used interchangeably to illustrate this hypothesis. Assimilation refers to the migrant accepting, in place of his own, the host country's norms and values, etc. Acculturation on the other hand, is the retention of some key element(s) of the migrant's ethnic/cultural identity]. The assumption here is that it is the migrants' culture that changes and adopts more and more the values and beliefs of the host country. By the same token, the implication is that the migrants' health patterns will fall somewhere between those trends in their own country and those of the host country. As time moves on, their health would approximate more and more that of the host country.

5/ The Minority Environment.⁴⁹

This explanation is also one where the migrants are modified by their environment. Here might occasionally be found privileged minorities (i.e. whose health patterns are better than those from host and/or country of origin). But generally, those minority groups whose health patterns usually invoke this as an explanation, are those facing situations of disadvantage. This may be because of the majority culture's response, ranging from ignorance and stereotyping to frank racism, or because of indigent economic circumstances. A situation of disadvantage therefore,

⁴⁹ Other sets of explanations can be found: such as 'racism', 'cultural', 'material', and 'artefact', but I consider, as does Williams (1992), that these are sub-headings under the general heading of this category.

may signify that the health of migrants is worse than the general pattern in their country of origin or destination, and either remains so or becomes so increasingly with time.

Cultural differences between indigenous and migrant groups is a popular explanation for ethnic differences in patterns of health experience. Rarely developed, it becomes instead a stereotypical category conveniently adopted in a residual way as an independent variable, very much like 'ethnicity' itself. This type of racialised practice is a feature endemic to host societies, and minority populations which attempt to maintain and exercise those cultural beliefs which are different from the majority norms, are all too quickly regarded as deviant and therefore abnormal in a pathological sense (Littlewood, 1989).

The range of potential obstacles faced by anyone attempting to operationalise ethnicity within the context of their chosen research are plentiful (Macintyre, 1986). To add to this problem, the confusion of ethnic and racial categories is a common error made in epidemiological studies. The scientific validity of such studies is additionally questionable because of the use of umbrella terms such as Hispanic or Asian, the former being defined as 'a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central/South American or other Spanish culture or origin' (Sheldon and Parker, 1992:58). The heterogeneity of the population included under the umbrella term undermines the validity of defining it.

This has obvious implications regarding the implementation of social policies, regarding what aspect of which (sub)population is actually being catered for. Such racialised treatment and non-acknowledgement of specific ethnic identity is not restricted to minority populations with dark skins as Williams discovered (1992).

Ahmad *et al.* (1989) reviewed the literature on the health of British Asians. They point out that few researchers made the effort to interpret their findings against the disadvantaged background, the implication was that the differences in health were due to linguistic and cultural factors alone. Such an example highlights how difficult and context dependent the notion of ethnicity is to conceptualise, making it all the easier to explain away the above as aspects inherent to 'race' and not social in origin, reflecting in reality the key role of host and minority group relations, and their impact on health.

Finally, the descendants of migrants (such as the Poles) may be ethnically distinct from the majority population in terms of language, customs, and religion, yet not visibly typified by physical characteristics such as skin colour, yet still as a group be subject to racialised notions, simply because of such shared (group) differences.

Conclusion.

This chapter traces the history of Poland, and establishes the characteristically singular experiences had by Poles in terms of large-scale upheaval throughout the ages since the country's inception. Even though for periods of time within her

history Poland no longer existed as a country, her language, culture and religion somehow were retained. These various events set the stage for an exodus of many Poles whose final destinations over the centuries were many and varied, and who by the start of the Second World War had established various Polonian communities around the world, the largest and the longest established of which being in North America.

The development of both the British and American Polish communities can be seen to be different in certain ways from those of other ethnic groups such as the Italians, and the Irish, in that they were much more well-organized in terms of building schools and church centres which taught the polish language, its culture and the Polish Roman Catholic religion, as well as giving catechism classes (Morawska, 1977).

My extensive literature searches have shown that the Poles' experience as a white minority ethnic group is dissimilar to that of other white ethnic groups, both in Britain and in the US (Sword *et al.*, 1989; Sword, 1996; Erdmans, 1998). Broadly speaking, the Poles are a white immigrant group who were forced from their homeland, many of whom were unable to return. The nature of this diasporic experience, in concert with the ideological basis for their arriving to their various destinations (the UK and the US), is seen to have had a significant impact on the development of the post-war Polonian communities.

In the case of British Poles, my attempts to identify how the position of the immigrant Pole was to be explained in terms of British sociological Race themes, resulted in it leading to my recognising the lacuna I found to be present in the said literature on 'Race' and Ethnicity - with which I had unsuccessfully tried to match the Poles' own experience of migration and settlement. It is these experiences which in the case of the Poles were trauma and loss and the involuntary nature of their immigration as a result of a world war, which are known to impact on the perception of self (Braito, 1988) and also impact on their dealings with the host community (Jagucki, 1983). It is evident therefore in its absence from the body of literature examined, that when a white minority ethnic group such as the Poles both here and in the USA, has been shown to have no political agenda or not indicated publicly on feeling marginalised, that there is very little interest in generating research on white ethnic groups from a European (Western) origin, who might also have their own set of (unseen) problems to overcome as migrants in a foreign land, in a host society which itself identifies with a Western/European 'orientation'

Similarly, the same became evident when I looked at extant immigrants' health literature. Once again, the bulk of such data is predicated mainly in studying those emigrations to Britain of members from the so called 'third world', i.e. from the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent (Ahmad, 1993, Williams, 1992). Health research continues to be primarily concerned with looking at the manifestation of 'reported' mental illness disorders of ethnic groups or at culturally specific illnesses

in non-white minority groups and not, as my research will do, at trends in how ethnicity is maintained inter-generationally by members of a white minority ethnic group, and the impact on sustaining this culture on their perceived quality of life, with its relationship to health status (Braitto, 1988).

To this end, what *is* known about the Poles is there is evidence that as an ethnic group some members have most definitely not had the assumed straightforward adaptation to their new lives in the host society. This is borne out by their experiences in relation to their health, where documentation indicates that excluding those figures for the Irish (both Northern and from the Republic), their rates of mental hospital admissions are higher than all other groups, and remain consistently so for a period of time when such rates of admission are assumed to fall to a level more closely resembling those of the host country, in this case the UK (Cochrane and Bal, 1989). These figures, and the literature on the impact on the Poles' quality of life as a result of trying to maintain their ethnicity (Braitto, 1988), relate of course to first generation immigrant groups. This research will attempt to show whether there is any evidence of the effects of ethnicity maintainment on the second generation.

In the next chapter I discuss in greater detail the themes introduced earlier in this chapter (p.p.28-30) surrounding the partitions, and the effect these had on global population movements of Poles, and I introduce the discussion on the development of established Polish American immigrant communities right up to WWII.

CHAPTER TWO.

Introduction.

This chapter is comprised of two parts. The first section begins with a short chronology of Polish migrations to the United States, and develops further the discussion in Chapter One (p.p. 17-35) on the various partitions particular to Polish history, and groups of Poles in relation to the resultant waves of migrations, which, as a result of these political changes, (permanently) affected substantial geographic, demographic and social alterations to the landscape of the Polish culture of those times. I then move on to discussing specific historical formations of Polish American settlements, which closely mirrored the various migratory waves addressed in the earlier component.

The second section provides the background to the two national case study research sites. These Polonian communities, one American and one British, will be looked at in the context of their formation as a result of the traumatic events in Poland's history which precipitated their development. The UK one is of course in the Midlands, namely Coventry and its environs, and the US site is located in the state of Michigan, comprising Detroit, with its environs (such as 'Poletown' – Hamtramck), and a little further east, the town of Ann Arbor.

THE POLISH EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

A Short Chronology Of Polish Migration To America.

Inasmuch as Thomas and Znaniecki's extensive work *The Polish Peasant* may have generated a plethora of subsequent American analyses on Polish immigration to the USA, as well as on the process of immigration in general, it may have also provided an additional albeit unintentional legacy for stereotyping the image of American Poles in popular culture, (which to this day persists in America). However, history also records the arrival of Poles to America who do not fit this pre-Industrialisation 'primitive'. For example, there are those whose presence predated the arrival of the Mayflower by some twelve years, as well as Poles from subsequent waves who were articulate, educated and highly self-sufficient. Those Poles who continue to arrive today to work and reside in the United States, identify more closely with this latter type.

There abound many accounts detailing *exactly* when and where the first Poles actually did set foot on the shores of America. Most are colourful, and some may indeed have no substance in terms of recorded fact. However, those which are substantiated not only by (Polish) records, but are also noted in the annals of American history¹, clearly indicate that Poles can be identified as having played a role in the history of America from her earliest days. In 1607, the first successful British colony in America was established at Jamestown, Virginia. This now famous settlement was on the brink of extinction when its leader Governor John

¹ For full presentation of records on Poles pre the Mayflower landing, see Albert Q. Maisel (1955); Renkiewicz, F. (1973); Wyrwal, J.A. (1992,1977); Pula, J.S. (1995)

Smith² sent out a call to the London-based Virginia Trading Company to 'send but 30 carpenters, blacksmiths and masons' (quoted from Maisel, 1955). On the 25th September, 1608, his appeal was answered with six artisans arriving on the small ship *Good Speed*. These were all Poles, and Smith later gave credit wholly to this small group, in his manuscript *True Travels*³, for the economic survival of the community (Maisel, 1955).

The arrival of Poles at this time was no accident, as Wytrwal (1992: 3-4) points out, since England was having difficulties meeting its own demands for lumber and wood products at the onset of the seventeenth century, and already had commercial links with Poland (amongst other countries) to import these goods with the Poles' arrival the colony flourished, and the invitation to emigrate was extended to encourage more such Poles, in order to secure the colony's long-term success. Within a few years, the ranks of Polish settlers swelled to fifty.

There are several interesting facts, which remain generally unknown regarding the Poles in America. First, this settlement at Jamestown organised the first labour strike in America (Maisel, 1955; Wytrwal, 1992). A few years after they had arrived in Jamestown, Virginia's new governor authorised the election of the first legislative body in America, but with the proviso that only those native to England were allowed to vote. Incensed at this unfair treatment, the Poles laid down tools,

² To place this event in a more popularly known context, this is the same Captain John Smith whom history records as having his life saved by Pocahontas, the daughter of the local American Indian Chief, Powhatan, who planned to kill Smith. Powhatan was chief of the Powhatan confederacy of Algonquian tribes. Fighting between the Native Americans and the settlers broke out, when the new settlers began expanding inland and taking by force, lands which belonged to Powhatan and his people.

³ Although his book is commonly referred to as this, the full title is "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith" (1630).

knowing how invaluable their skills, and hence presence, were to the community. This strike was not staged for economic gain, but for 'the principal of universal suffrage' (Maisel, 1955). Justice was served in this instance, and they were very soon granted an equal right to vote.

Secondly, history shows us that although Poland's participation in America's early years did not put a 'New Poland' on the map of America, such as the French, Spanish, or English did when they claimed respectively a New France, New Spain and a New England for their own countries, Poland did enjoy two colonies in the Americas, and these were purchased by Duke Jacob of Courland (1610-1687) from Holland, and settled in 1652. These were two islands in the Caribbean, namely Tobago and St. Andrew, and Poland had possession of them until 1737 (Wytrwal, 1992).

Thirdly, Polish immigrants maintained those cultural values which they brought with them to America, by transplanting their native experiences (which stemmed from their own traditional agrarian lifestyles), as well as their own inherent ethnic 'traits', which together underpinned a complex system of social and formal fraternal organisations. Such traits which have become synonymous with Poles in writings both past and recent (Braito, 1988; Davies, 1996, 1984; Pula, 1995; Wytrwal, 1992, 1977; Patterson, 1963; Zubrzycki, 1956, 1988, 1992), are namely, traditional extended family structures, a strong belief in self-sufficiency, integrity, honour, the centrality of religion in their lives, and, a fierce belief in the ultimate independence of their motherland. Such character labels are of course not exclusive to Poles and their respective émigré communities.

The Early Political Émigrés.

Records show that there were only three times prior to 1860 when sizeable groups of Poles arrived in America from Poland. The first two have appropriately come to be classified as political refugees. These were firstly, a group of 234 exiled revolutionaries who following the failure of the Polish November Uprising against Russian rule, arrived in New York in 1830-31. The second group, arrived following the thwarted 1846 Mierosławski revolution, and in this case comprised several hundred political exiles. The third group, which I will discuss briefly, was a large Polish (Silesian) group of 800 peasants, who followed Reverend Leopold Moczygeba to San Antonio in Texas, where they settled in 1854 (Pula, 1995; Lindsay Baker, 1979).

The First Polish American Settlement.

The settlement at San Antonio, Texas is very well documented, particularly by Lindsay Baker (1979). He compiled his comprehensive studies on the oldest Polish colonies in America into the form of a historical narrative (Lindsay Baker, 1979), and this gives us much insight into just how difficult it must have been for these Polish settlers, caught unwittingly amidst the chaos prior to the American Civil War⁴ during their community's early development.

Arriving in late 1854 and early 1855, this initial group established a core of settlements which can be placed as the first American Polish widespread economic migration. They set the precedent which was to become the norm by

⁴ Four decades of intense sectional conflict were to culminate in the outbreak of this war in 1861, where deep seated social, economic, and political differences were at play between the North and the South. The Poles' anti-slavery stand, and recent residence in a pro-slave state, meant that their treatment as foreigners was affected by these historic events.

way of highly organised Polish Catholic parish communities. They also established the first Polish school in America. When these peasants began their migration, their homeland in Upper Silesia had been separated from the Polish State for five centuries. Despite being under foreign rule for so long, the Polish peasants retained their Roman Catholic religion, their language, and their traditions. In very much the same way, amidst an area dominated by Hispanics, Americans, and Germans, there still exists today a highly maintained level of this distinctive 19th century Slavic culture (Lindsay Baker, 1979).

Patterns of Migration From the Three Partitions.

It was Poland's various partitions which precipitated her many migrations. As I mentioned above (page 100), the first two groups established the early political milieu for Polish political émigrés known as the 'intelligentsia' or the gentry, with which all subsequent exiles were to identify. They tended to be from the Prussian and Russian (partitioned Polish) regions, since the third portioning power, Austria's Hapsburg regime imposed no 'culturalization' programs, as did Prussia ('*Kulturkampf*'), and Russia ('Russification'); therefore Poles from this third region tended to come, by choice, exclusively for economic reasons ('*za chleb – for bread*') (Bukowczyk, 1987), rather than as political exiles (Erdmans, 1998: 22).

These early political émigrés built the institutional base of Polish communities, in particular the Roman Catholic parishes, and many voluntary social organisations, which were to become the fore-runners of many contemporary Polish American

organisations⁵. They took the initiative to build these bases since they were more often than not highly nationalistic, educated, and permanent settlers, who as a result of their exile, had no homes (or indeed country) to which they might one day return (Brozek, 1985⁶).

They endeavoured to galvanise support from the mass of 'peasant' arrivals from all three partitions (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-20), in their continued efforts to aid Poland in her struggle for independence. Such was their success in mobilising the continuing influx of Polish immigrants, that American Polonia became known as the Fourth partition. This was seen as being the turning point at which Polish regional identities were slowly becoming broadly identifiable as a national one (Erdmans, 1998; Braito, 1988; Bukowczyk, 1987; Davies, 1984; Kantowicz, 1975; Pula, 1995; Szczepanski, 1970; Wytrwal, 1977; Znaniecka Lopata, 1994; Zubrzycki, 1953).

As we have seen, during the third partition Poland was no longer a 'distinct political entity' (Erdmans, 1998: 19), and the largest wave of Polish emigration took place from 1870 to 1914, with Polish migrants from the three partitioned regions of Poland arriving to America in a series of waves (see Table 1.1, p. 103).

The third partition carved Poland up in the following way. Prussia controlled the Western regions as well as the Northern Baltic provinces, and Austria governed the Southeastern corner of Poland known as Galicia. However, Empress Catherine

⁵ For example, the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America was first organized in 1873. Today, it offers, amongst other facilities, its Polish (descendants and more recent) members very competitive interest rates for mortgages. The national headquarters are in Chicago, Illinois.

⁶ Cited in Erdmans (1998: 22).

the Great of Russia managed to gain control of the largest portion of Poland (comprising 85% of Poland's former lands and 59% of her population), and ruled over the Northeastern regions, as well as the central basin of Poland (Erdmans, 1998). As can be seen, the largest number of Polish immigrants came from the Russian Partition, and it has been estimated that prior to WWI, 1.5 million Poles immigrated to the US from the three partitions (see Table 1.1)⁷.

Table 1.1 Polish immigration to the United States by partition, 1891-1914⁸

	Prussian	Russian	Austrian	Totals
1891-94	53,800	79,796	—	133,596
1895-99	12,571	36,517	44,484	93,572
1900-1904	16,133	149,959	143,261	309,353
1905-09	14,494	242,276	211,216	467,986
1910-14	21,711	332,696	226,881	581,288
Total number	118,709	841,244	625,842	1,585,795
Percentage	7.5	53.0	39.5	100
% ethnic Poles by partition*	8.9	58.9	32.2	100

* Refers to the distribution of ethnic Poles in each of the partitions according to an 1897 census (Pinkowski, 1978: 310-11). Source of immigration statistics: Brozek, 1985: 233.

All three partitions were undergoing changes from traditional (feudalistic) societies to societies veering towards more modern money-based economies, but the transformation was at different rates for each region, and occurred first in the German portion of partitioned Poland (Bukowczyk, 1987; Erdmans, 1998).

⁷ Erdman's footnote to the above table urges some caution with regard to this figure. There are large discrepancies between US Census Bureau immigration statistics, and those from various Polish sources such as authorities' and church parish records. Many Poles were registered as coming from their country of partition, and as a result it is believed that, on the one hand, their numbers were underrepresented (Zubrzycki, 1953); and on the other, over-represented, since these estimates did not take account of those Poles who returned to Poland (Brozek, 1985). These issues notwithstanding, it remains plausible that some discrepancies may have occurred, which would mean that estimates on subsequent generations were also somewhat uncertain, especially when these earlier figures were used as the basis to track the (total) number of Polish immigrants to the US (1985).

⁸ Reproduced from Erdmans, 1998: 21, with error in the original corrected from 5.3% to 53.0%.

The Regulation Reform of the Napoleonic era ended serfdom in German partitioned Poland between 1807 and 1823, but as a result left many of the peasants landless, and burdened by a system of taxes established to benefit their former masters, only the large German landowners (Junkers) benefited by buying out the hard-pressed peasants' small holdings.

The decades passed and the ranks of these landless agricultural labourers swelled, so that by 1880 almost 80% of the (polish) population fell into this intense hardship category Bismarck's Germanisation policy in the 1870s (*Kulturkampf*), to purge the region of all Poles and Catholics coupled with the above poverty, precipitated the vast migrations of Polish clergy, gentry and peasant alike to go in search of a better life (Erdmans, 1998).

In contrast to the commercial agricultural development of the German-held region, Austrian partitioned Poland was experiencing economic stagnation. The partition boundaries cut across trade routes along the Vistula river, blocking Galicia from its Western European grain markets. This resulted in virtually no real development of Galicia at all, with primitive agricultural techniques being practised into the late nineteenth century (Bukowczyk, 1987).

In 1848, the Austrian government abolished serfdom in its Polish province, and bestowed (partial) inheritance rights to the peasants. But just as the Poles in the Prussian region had discovered, that this newfound 'freedom' from serfdom was of little benefit to the Polish peasants. In reality, these peasants acquired fewer than four acre plots, which were often scattered into such small portions that they

proved inadequate for subsistence farming (Pula, 1995).

In 1866, rapprochement between the Galician Polish (larger) landowners and the Austrian government handed the former greater local autonomy, which they used to gain more land. This coupled with rampant social problems such as alcoholism, hunger⁹, illiteracy, and frequent scourges of typhus and cholera acted as a catalyst for migration for these Poles (Pula, 1995).

The economic development of the Russian Partition was somewhat different to the other two regions. Although the breakdown of serfdom occurred at about the same time as it did in the German Partition, the peasants were unable to acquire land, were still obliged to perform mandatory labour, and as a result of the rampant poverty, cholera and typhus raged throughout this region between 1846 and 1856. A series of evictions ensued, creating a large number of destitute Russian (Polish) peasants, who also found themselves burdened by heavy taxes favouring their former masters, all fuelling the various migratory waves (Ibid.).

The Two National Research Sites.

The Poles whose final destination became the UK, had to form their own communities from scratch. With the Polish government-in-exile also residing in the UK, in London, and the political nature of the Polish Diaspora giving them their *raison d'être*; the formal structures of the various communities and parishes nationwide, slowly evolved, but under specific guidance from the London base. Such development almost always evolved with a Polish Church at its epicentre,

⁹ Just as in Ireland, Galicia was hit by a potato blight between 1847 and 1849 (Erdmans, 1998).

whose rôle was often a governing one, in tandem with local community members (Gula, 1993; Sword *et al.*, 1989; Sword, 1996).

The Poles whose final destination was America, and depending on their means of arrival, would often congregate towards the already established Polonian communities, and as I have already discussed (page 73-75), sometimes forming their own range of social organisations specific to their own needs, but also taking advantage of the Polish American fraternal institutions already in place, as membership in one did not exclude them from participating in the other. Such newly formed organisation were cultural markers which identified post WWII Poles within Polonia, and maintained continuity with their previous lives, and their *raison d'être* (Erdmans, 1998; Pula, 1995; Wytrwal, 1992).

The Formation of the Polish Exile Community in the UK.

The Polish experience in Britain came about in 1946, as a result of negotiations between the Polish Government-in-Exile, which was at that time based in London, and the British Government. This is because of the many Polish soldiers who, forming part of the Allied Forces during WWII¹⁰, were given the option of settling in Britain. This was a watershed in British immigration, as first generation Poles would eventually be allowed to apply for naturalisation, but their children (those born between 1945-1963) were also given the option of applying for dual

¹⁰ A cynic might suggest that the British government felt obliged to assist the Poles' dilemma, since they entered WWII specifically to free Poland from Germany's invasion, and as a result many Poles, as part of Allied invasions, took part in (and died, alongside many others, as a result of) various British campaigns. At the Teheran and Yalta Summits, the British government, with the US in close pursuit, signed away any hopes of freedom that Poland might have had, and endorsed Stalin's request to literally carve Poland up, with the former USSR getting the lion's share (Sword *et al.*, 1989; Piotrowski, 1998).

nationality (Sword *et al.*, 1989). It is an interesting reflection on the continuing fixation of the duality of black and white in 'Race and Ethnicity' literature that the Polish migration to the UK, is rarely mentioned in texts, with very few exceptions (Solomos, 1993: 54-56; Kay & Miles, 1992; Cohen, 1997).

There were a variety of routes via which Poles came to the UK. These can be combined into two main paths, and were as follows:

- 1- As part of the Polish Resettlement Corp (PRC) formed from those Polish troops in active service at 'Allied' military installations in Europe; and those already in Britain employed as combat personnel under the joint military control of the British and Polish governments.
- 2- As sections from the plethora of Displaced Persons' (DPs) camps stranded all over Europe. These included civilians, refugees and prisoners of war (POWs), consisting mainly of Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, and Yugoslavs. Many were Polish women and children who were exiled from Eastern Poland to East Africa, by the Russians, first having been transported and imprisoned in Siberia. Due to the shortage of labour, several governments decided to consider DPs in this capacity, and they were renamed the 'European Volunteer Workers' (EVWs), and allowed so conditionally into the UK.

There seems to be much confusion in official documents as to the exact number of Poles who entered the UK by either one of the above routes (Sword *et al.*, 1989; Marmot *et al.*, 1984). However, the PRC kept records which, if they were correct, and there is little reason to doubt them, indicated that the official figure was greatly underestimated (Zubrzycki, 1956). One area where the PRC were more accurate than official documentation, was in recording place of birth.

For example, Lwów was a Polish city before the Second World War, a Soviet city after 1945, and since the break-up of the former Soviet Union, has been a Ukrainian city. Just as names were noted down incorrectly (by officials both here

and in America), place of birth was registered as USSR for a number of these Poles (Sword, 1996; Erdmans, 1998).

This brief chronology outlines the ways in which the Poles entered the UK¹¹:

1940: sees the exiled Polish government and armed forces being allowed to enter Britain, totalling 30,500 persons.

1946: The Polish Second Corps, which joined the British Command in 1942, was brought to Britain in 1946, followed by families and dependants of members of the Polish Armed Forces. This latter group formed the core of the PRC, and most of them remained in the UK, as they had no country to return to.

1949: By 1949, estimates on the number of Poles in Britain consisted of: 91,400 members of the PRC, 31,800 dependants of Polish ex-servicemen, 2,400 relatives, and 2,300 additional ex-members of the Polish armed forces. This totalled 127,900 persons, to which one can then add 29,400 EVW, of Polish origin. The overall total being estimated at 157,300.¹²

Little research has been done on the impact of labelling DPs as EVWs. They viewed themselves as exiles or political refugees, but as EVWs the British Government perceived them as little more than economic immigrants (Kay & Miles, 1992; Sword, 1988). The analysis of the assimilability of EVWs provides a rare insight into official discourse in the late 1940's. Distinctions were made between those from the northern part of Eastern Europe (mainly the Baltic states), who were seen as the superior 'types'; against those from South Eastern Europe, which were deemed to resemble 'closely approximated stereotypes of contemporary Third World refugees' (Kay & Miles, 1992: 124). But, as was very much the case with other countries recruiting EVWs as labour from the DP camps, the British officials displayed 'an in-built, partly racialised bias towards

¹¹ These details, have in their entirety been taken from Solomos (1993: 54), who cites as their source (Zubrzycki, 1956: 62). Zubrzycki's figures are based on PRC data, Ibid.

¹² Brzenk gives an overall figure of 168,000 Poles (1957: 78). However, one point is clear in all the literature, and that is the disproportionate number of men. Sword cites a figure of only 15-20% of Poles were women (1996: 37). This is hardly surprising, given that only military personnel were allowed into the UK. This of course was to have an effect on the levels of intermarriage shortly after the war (Sword, 1996).

the nationals from the Baltic states' (Kay & Miles, 1992: 125). In spite of this positive attitude towards the Polish DPs, a paradox ensued from the collective (official) treatment of the EVWs in that a social cleavage developed between those Poles settling in Britain via the PRC and the EVWs. The Poles within the 'PRC were allowed a fair degree of cultural autonomy' (Kay & Miles, 1992: 125), were members of a highly trained and disciplined military organisation (the DPs it must be remembered often arrived with little more than they could carry), and unlike many of the DPs were rarely from poor rural or peasant backgrounds – but represented all classes of pre-war Polish society. They were better placed to adapt to these changes (Sword, 1996).

The development of a social 'split' is however a moot point, given that both groups were subject to severe restrictions as a condition of work. Given the bleak conditions faced by many economies just after the war, it is hardly surprising that the unions were reluctant to accept the recruitment of foreign labour. As a consequence of which, these Poles were placed in an inferior secondary position (both economically and socially).

They were allocated jobs only within specified industries (coal, textile and agriculture), and were housed in existing (American) barracks and/or ex-internment camps used for the German POWs. In some of these camps, they were fed the same food as had been given to the Germans, and no provisions were made to have heating and suitable sanitary equipment installed, leaving them with no or very little privacy.

During the process of demobilisation, the camps in which the Poles were housed became PRC camps. There were 90 such camps scattered throughout the UK. The Polish Resettlement Corps' primary function was to 'ease' the transfer of Polish soldiers, etc. into civilian life, and hence into full-time work. Since the Poles were subject to geographical restrictions, meaning that they had not only to stay in the area where their PRC was located, but once issued with a job, were expected to keep it for two years¹³, this meant that the location of their PRC camp often dictated which industry they were destined for, at least for their first two years (Brzenk, 1957).

The Poles encountered hostility from the local communities who feared that they were taking away their jobs (and were not always able to distinguish between these Poles, and the German POWs or the Russians (Gula, 1993)), their women (Sword, 1988:234) and any available resources, etc. (Sword *et al.*, 1989; Zubrzycki, 1956; Kay & Miles, 1992). Many of them had skills which they were not able to utilise, their qualifications were not recognised and, in addition, they had problems acquiring the language (Sword, 1988).

There were stories regularly in the local papers throughout England, about Poles getting into scraps with the locals over girls or because of drink (Sword, 1989; Zubrzycki, 1956). The priests were becoming more and more concerned about the communities' future moral outlook, as e.g. girls were falling pregnant (out of

¹³ The Poles were effectively indentured to a job, with local union officials notifying the Labour Exchange if a Pole no longer wanted to continue working there. They in turn were authorised to inform the authorities who were empowered to deport the 'recalcitrant' back to Poland. These were the real conditions under which Poles were allowed to stay in the UK (Sword, 1986).

wedlock etc.) (Gula, 1993). The traditional 'cohesive' strength of the Polish Catholic church appeared to be helpless amongst this state of anomie.

With the annexation of Poland, it became evident that a great many from both groups (PRC and DPs) had no intention of returning to Poland (and in many cases were unable to do so) and this only served to exacerbate the situation. As there was no long-term provision made for the Poles when they originally arrived, it is quite understandable that they felt shunned by a country for whose liberty they had fought, given the above living and working conditions (Sword, 1986, 1988 Sword *et al.*, 1989; Zubrzycki, 1956, 1988).

In 1951 The Times¹⁴ newspaper warned of the 'discouragement and disappointment felt by foreign labour' of their bleak prospects, and that were their conditions not improved there would be a very real chance that the best of such a workforce would resolve to resettle elsewhere (Sword, 1988: 250). The early 1950's saw a discernible propensity for the semi-skilled, and highly skilled (engineers, doctors, architects, teachers, etc.) Poles leaving England for America, where it was felt that the pluralistic mechanisms operating in America would benefit their native culture, as well as the established Polonian communities. Some also returned to their homeland (Znanińska Lopata, 1994; Zubrzycki, 1988).

It must be stated of course that the British Government did provide assistance to address the Poles' settlement problems, but it was at the same time preoccupied in handling its own economic problems, and those of accommodating its own

¹⁴ The Times, 21 May 1951. (Source: cited in Sword, 1988: 250).

returning workforce for whom jobs also had to be found.

It appeared to the Poles that they were rather 'taken for granted' and forgotten.

Sword sums up their general states of mind on their treatment by the British

(1988: 249-250):

A typical comment is that the British behaved ... 'decently' .. Nevertheless, there is also a residue of bitterness to be found in some quarters. For some the resettlement scheme was an opportunity lost when, in the interests of short-term labour needs, qualified and experienced workers were employed as unskilled labour; when Poles with professional skills were compelled to take menial and mentally undemanding work. The 'déclassment' which this brought about was traumatic for many.

The Ministry of Education set up facilities to teach the Poles English, and set up training centres for the youths. The details are catalogued in the MoE booklet:

'Education in Exile', London, FO, 1956.

Earlier conditions of settlement (preventing Poles from setting up their own business) were relaxed and (only) Polish officers were induced to relinquish their commissions. In return they received 'start up' grants. By April 1948, 57,000 Poles had been placed in British industry. However, the Poles' technical qualifications were usually higher than those required for the jobs which the Ministry of Labour had detailed that they should go into. There were three main industries in which the Poles were to be placed, and these were: coal mining, agriculture, and heavy industry (Hitch, 1975; Sword *et al.*, 1989).

When the PRC was first set up, the British authorities hoped that the majority of its members would be employed in agriculture, and this was probably due to

the image of Poland as an agrarian economy (Zubrzycki, 1956). In reality only 8,200 of the 66,000 manual workers were in agriculture, and most of these left as soon as the labour restrictions passed, and also many entering the textile industry (Hitch, 1975: 282). The same trend appears to have occurred in other industries such as coalmining and brickmaking, where the numbers of Poles were also depleted (Tannahill, 1958¹⁵).

Figures from the Assistance Board (AST)¹⁶, stated that only 29% of the Poles in employment had jobs corresponding to their qualifications; 16% (15,400) were professional and clerical workers employed on manual work, while 55% (52,800) were qualified workers employed as unskilled labour (Sword, 1988)¹⁷.

The Formation of the Polish Parish of Coventry.

Within this setting, the nation-wide expansion of Polish parishes were taking place. Gula (1993: 165) states that by 1950 there were 93 priests in England and Wales, and 10 in Scotland¹⁸. Meanwhile in the Midlands, notable parishes were Birmingham and Coventry.

There is limited detailed information on the development of this Polish centre (and many other such Polish communities), as the data is often restricted to

¹⁵ Hitch, 1975: 284, notes that Tannahill seems to disregard the available (Home Office) data used by Zubrzycki etc. and painted a very different picture regarding the situation of the Poles' employment restrictions, claiming that the Poles were not subjected to any at the end of the war, so that that 'many were able to secure professional jobs' (Tannahill, 1958: 110).

¹⁶ AST:18.1. January, 1949 Official Documents, HMG.

¹⁷ These figures are exclusive of EVWs.

¹⁸ Gula (1993: 161) lists 2,334 mixed (Polish) marriages in Scotland immediately after WWII. Polish soldiers were stationed there, since it was one of the training bases for Polish soldiers, and many remained after the war. Edinburgh University had a Polish Medical Department, and up to 1949, had awarded medical diplomas to 227 Polish students, and MD degrees to a further 19 (Ibid.).

various ecclesiastical and other public events such as weddings, etc. Often such records were kept by someone who was voluntarily helping out the local priest. However, by piecing these together it gives us some picture of the evolution, as Sword (1996) puts it, of a typical Polish parish. What is known for certain, is that approximately 1500 Poles settled in Coventry in 1947, and were mostly soldiers from the PRC (The Coventry Polish Parents Committee, 1993). Due to the heavy bombing of Coventry during WWII, many Poles were directed towards the following heavy industries: coalmining, brick-building, cement works.

A branch of the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association (SPK) was opened, and served as the main meeting place for secular and religious activities alike until a site could be obtained for a church and church hall etc. Until this occurred, Polish Mass was conducted here (Ibid.).

In order to institute some semblance of religious and educational teaching to the few children, ad hoc lessons in private homes, including the Polish priest's home in Gulson Road, were organised until something more permanent could be found (The Coventry Polish Parents Committee, 1993). In the meantime, as the numbers of children slowly rose, with the soldiers' dependants arriving, as well as the influx of other Poles, Polish lessons were moved to the SPK building (Ibid.).

By 1953 a more formal and (semi) permanent site was located, and Polish lessons in history, Polish grammar, geography, and some catechism, were formally give every Saturday at Wheatley Street School, and was recognised, and the London based 'Polish Education Society – Abroad' ('Polska Macierz Szkolna –

Zagranica', PMS) issued a licence in order for it to operate, and dictated the annual curriculum.

This remained so for a number of years, until 1964 when the whole area was redeveloped, and no longer exists today in its former state, therefore the Polish school had to move to a new site. The Sidney Stringer School and Community Centre became the new site, and has remained so until the present day.

Like many other Polish parishes, the Coventry Poles fairly quickly organised a permanent location for their church, and in the mid 1950's this was realised. Hitch (1975) maintains that the fact these interim churches occurred (all over the UK) so soon after the Poles' arrival gives a very good indication of the importance of religion within the daily lives of these Poles.

The Polish Church in Coventry is situated in Springfield Road, Hillfields, which at the time of this research was found to be in an inner city setting. Part of the church's official diocese covers the Rugby area as well, where there are a very small number of Poles who are long-standing parishioners. The priest informed me that one of his tasks was to visit them, as most are now very elderly Poles, and they seldom make it to the church on a regular basis. With his regular visits to Daventry, this Polish priest's time is often taken up with house visits to an ageing Polish population. Unlike the US case study location of Hamtramck where the parishioners are (often) found to be residents sharing the immediate neighbourhood, the UK Polish parishioners are spread at random throughout a wide area.

The community centre (housing a social club) was built next to the church, and over time most of the parish social functions were transferred to these new premises. The church caters for all the Polish seasonal religious functions such as *Pasterka* (Christmas Midnight Mass), as well as Saturday and Sunday Services. The congregation then moves to the community centre, where formal or public social functions were maintained such as the *Sylwester* (New Years Eve Ball), or simply to the adjoining club to socialise, usually after the Sunday service. The Polish Social Club, like most other Polish clubs (Klub Polski) had a licence to sell alcoholic beverages, and therefore was able to accommodate such activities, as well as wedding receptions, etc.

I participated in the celebration of some of this community's seasonal activities, and noticed, as indeed did Sword (Sword, 1996) in his travels to Polish communities and their formal centres around various parts of Britain, how similar this element of their organisation was, with many parishes vying to outdo each other in what they could provide for the Poles in their neighbourhood (Sword, 1988). This mirrored Znaniecka Lopata's (1994:11) comparable observations about Polish American communities in competition with one another being self-sufficient and not requiring 'resources if they were not part of the community's sources'. An example of this self-sufficiency in the case of British communities can be seen in the form of every community centre almost always housing the Polish school, as well as some kind of Polish delicatessen facilities specialising in Polish imported goods or those made in the UK, usually by Poles themselves (Sword, 1996).

In the case of Polish American¹⁹ communities, as well as finding a school attached to the community centre, there would almost always be a local chapter (branch) of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, which as I mentioned in Chapter One (Fn 36, page 71) gives advice and financial aid to the members of the Polish community (Wytrwal, 1992). In this way the Poles maintain independence from the host society by sustaining the needs of the ethnic group from within, as well as demonstrating 'a complex status competitive structure' (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994).

Each Polish community has had its share of internal conflicts over the years (Gula, 1993; Sword *et al.*, 1989; Sword, 1996), and Coventry is no different. During one of my interviews it came to light that the Polish Church had set up a Polish shop (delicatessen), which as I mention above is not uncommon in the UK, particularly with the real shortage of Polish foodstuffs, and many items were imported directly from Poland such as sauerkraut and cured meats (until in the latter case, Polish owned factories specialised in their own Polish products). For many years these shortages were a real problem, as there are many foods which are necessary in the maintenance of Polish customs, both religious and traditional (Gula, 1993).

This notwithstanding, in this particular instance, this Church shop was set up in direct competition with a long-standing Polish delicatessen in Coventry city centre²⁰. This led to the creation of a schism in the church-going community, as

¹⁹ For easier reading, I have drawn this comparison with Polish American communities here, rather than have it in the following section.

²⁰ As a veritable 'outsider' to the Coventry Polish community, I was not privy to the precise nature of the disagreement between the Polish parish priest and the town based shop-keeper.

they were expected to 'side' with the parish priest, and bring him their business. I was given to understand that for some time, this situation affected the town based shop's income.

Coventry Polish Parish records show that during the parish's first twenty-five years of existence (1949-1973), the following events took place²¹:

Baptisms:	393 (16) ²²
Weddings:	720 (29)
Funerals:	260 (10)

However, in the next sixteen years (1974-1989), the rate of such events dropped to the following levels, due to first generation attrition, more and more second generation Poles leaving the area, and because less Polish religious customs were being maintained:

Baptisms:	117 (8)
Weddings:	183 (12)
Funerals:	306 (20)

Finally in my analysis of the Coventry Polish community, I would like to turn to its scholastic achievements over the years, and all the associated problems. Since the Polish school's inception one of its primary targets was to educate second generation Poles to acquire Polish speech and grammar (and now the third generation), to a level which was recognised by the host society's formal education system (as stipulated by the PMS directives). Therefore exams in Polish were established at 'O', 'A', and 'S' levels, and now GCSE level. All the

²¹ These data are reproduced from Sword, 1996: 84. He cites their source as the following two parish booklets. '*Polska parafia w Coventry*', 1949-1974, p.21; and, '*40 lat polskiej parafii Coventry-Rugby, 1949-1989*', p.45.

²² The figures in brackets indicate the annual average over the period (Sword, 1996: 84).

Polish schools nation-wide taught the same curriculum for the respective courses, and had arrangements with local schools, often those in which they were housed, who organised that the children were able to sit these exams under specified invigilated conditions (The Coventry Polish Parents Committee, 1993).

Coventry Polish Saturday School has been teaching children aged 8 - 18 for over forty seven years. In the period between 1953 and 1993, 213 children have gained an 'O' level in Polish, and 50 students have gained an 'A' level. Since 1993 to the present day, 18 more children have a GCSE, and another 4 each have an 'A' level.

I will now turn to the problems that this Polish community has had to cope with since 1989, as they reflect the ongoing disinterest that local councils have in many white ethnic minority groups in the UK, most of whom do not have a political agenda, neither do they figure in ongoing local council 'race relations' mandates, which predominantly serve, because of their large numbers and various needs and strong political voice, the non-white ethnic minority groups.

But these events also signalled potential changes within certain aspects of the formal structure of this UK Polish Community, which have helped to shape it almost since its inception, and at the same time highlight that these formal aspects of a Polish Community are, in some part, intrinsic to its continuity.

On the 20th June 1989, the headmaster of the Polish Language School (to use its official title) received a letter from the Deputy Head of the Sidney Stringer School giving very short notice that all language schools were now expected to contribute

towards the caretaking costs of keeping the premises open on Saturdays and weekday evenings. In financial terms, this meant the Polish Saturday School having to find between £700 to £800 per annum. New Government regulations had stipulated that schools would be expected 'to operate from September (of that year) in certain independent ways from the city council'²³. These requests for funding were shelved for the time being.

It is to be understood that the Polish school was not unwilling to pay, just simply unable to pay. The weekly lessons were provided by professional volunteers, and educational materials were covered by a limited budget which came from funds collected within the community as well as via some assistance from the PMS.

So it came as quite a blow in 1994 when, with just one month's notice this time, the school received notification from the Sidney Stringer headmaster that the Board of Governors were to increase the school hire charges to a total of £8,500 per annum, which represented a weekly fee of £251.00 during term-time. This issue was given much public attention in local and national press and with the additional help and intervention from local council members who supported the various schools a reprieve was eventually given after a financial compromise was achieved, with the various schools contributing some costs towards the use of the premises. It is the Polish headmaster's opinion, that pressure from the larger ethnic groups who also used the school facilities greatly assisted in deflecting this particular problem.

²³ Excerpt from a letter to the Polish Saturday School Headmaster, from a local councillor, Charles Ward, hand-written and undated. It was attached to other documentation dated 1989, so I presume that this was also written in this time period.

In 1995, the various language schools received their greatest challenge. This latest development was to have potentially far reaching consequences for a range of foreign languages, including Polish, being taught in the UK, such as Portuguese, Dutch, Turkish, Hindi, and Japanese, as these were all considered to be at risk and next in line to being dropped²⁴.

The Northern Examination Association (NEA), decided to no longer offer Polish, modern Hebrew, and Ukrainian, because of the costs involved in the few candidates sitting these at GCSE level every year. According to NEA figures, in 1994 these three ethnic languages had passes in GCSE totalling 279, 359, and 20 pupils respectively, whereas the total for the same year in French and German were 161,000, and 64,000 pupils respectively. This move by the NEA came just 'two weeks after the Government announced a multi-million-pound plan to create language schools aimed at dispelling Britain's poor reputation abroad on language teaching'²⁵.

For the moment the school has had another reprieve, but this is only a short-term one, and is reassessed on an annual basis. The headmaster's concern is that this is the thin edge of the wedge, which threatens the continued existence of the availability of 'A' level in Polish. The demise of both these exams would certainly signal the permanent truncation of one facet of the formal presence of Polish cultural tradition, at least in this city as well as indicating fairly definitively the limited political voice that the Polish community has in real terms when dealing

²⁴ 'Poles fight for their language in GCSE cuts', *The Sunday Telegraph*, 2nd April 1995, p.6.

²⁵ Ibid.

with (local) authorities on its own behalf. The irony here is that in being fiercely independent and traditionally not demanding any state aid, etc., the Polish community per se may have helped to bring about its own downfall (Sword, 1996).

The American Polish Communities of Hamtramck and Ann Arbor.

The development of Polish communities in America has been shaped by the various migrations to the US for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The impact of the post-war migration to the US was not as overwhelmingly influential on the development of the Polish community as the UK first generation was on the British equivalent in determining its specific nature and purpose as a result of their arrival.

Hamtramck is nowadays simply a suburb of Detroit, lying north-east of the city centre ('Downtown'). The city of Hamtramck was given its name after a French Revolutionary hero, Colonel Jean Francois Hamtramck (pronounced Ham - tram - meck), when he died at the beginning of the 19th Century. In those early days it was simply a marshy wooded area. Streams branching from the Detroit River provided the area with water. Early settlers slowly drained the marshes, and chopped down the hickory, basswood, and maple trees which flourished due to the nitrate rich soil, and this they turned into farmland. History has it that these farmers provided fresh produce to the markets in Detroit, and slowly the population grew. It is not known precisely when the first Pole arrived to the Detroit area, but typical Polish names are recorded in parish records from as

early as 1808 (Wytrwal, 1992).

It is understood that there were enough Poles in the city of Detroit in 1871 to establish a Polish parish. It was because of the large Polish population resident in Detroit that there would be many future clashes between the Poles and the American Catholic Church, which was dominated by clergy of Irish and German descent (Wytrwal, 1992). Several more parishes were created to accommodate the growing Polish population. Bearing in mind that as a result of the partitioned Poland, there was a steady flow of Poles from the three divided regions of Poland, many villages arriving en masse, as it were, complete with pastor, etc. and thus formed micro enclaves (Bukowczyk, 1996b). These various groups were not all culturally homogeneous, mixing only within their immediate group and often arrived, except for the priests, speaking very little Polish but being conversant in German and/or Russian (Wytrwal, 1992).

By 1907 Detroit had 60,000 residents of Polish ancestry. The incorporation of Hamtramck as a city independent of Detroit came about in 1922 (Wytrwal, 1992), with the new city now having to provide its own police, fire, and postal services (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997). By 1910, the Polish population of Hamtramck had itself increased so rapidly that it accounted for eighty percent of the city's population. The Detroit region continued to burgeon at an immense rate, so that by 1925 the foreign-born accounted for nearly 50% of its population of 1,242,000 and by 1930, the Polish population of the Detroit area numbered 300,000 (Wytrwal, 1992:10-11).

The arrival of the Ford Motor Company in 1923 was not only to help shape the perpetuating image of the Pole as a 'blue-collar worker', but also provided readily available jobs for the ever increasing local Polish population (Greeley, 1981).

Ample capital, skilled labour, weak unions, and cheap raw materials all made Detroit an ideal place for the automobile industry which was still in its infancy, and whilst Dodge Main and Ford plants were springing up all over the Detroit area there were always new arrivals waiting to step into the shoes of current automobile workers (Wytrwal, 1992: 10-11).

Hamtramck continued to thrive as a predominantly Polish enclave and in the 1950's had the 'highest Polish speaking population density outside of Warsaw' (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997: 77). There were several aspects, however, which distinguished it from British Polonian communities. These were firstly, the proliferation of Polish clubs and fraternals. The oldest is a branch of the Polish National Alliance (PNA), which was founded in 1880 to promote 'socialization and education of Poles in America'. The next oldest is a 'nest' (local branch) of the Polish Falcons, which was originally organised in 1887²⁶ (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997).

Secondly, is the phenomenon of having two Polish Catholic churches available to the Polish community, namely the Polish Roman Catholic Church (PRCC), and the Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC), formed as a result of a split from

²⁶ Other Hamtramck clubs are the Alliance of Poles, the General Thaddeus Kosciuszko Club, Hamtramck Polka Boosters, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Polish Army Veterans Club, Polish-American Century Club, and Polish Legion of American Veterans. The youth organisations are: Lambda Sigma Pi sorority, Beta Sigma Pi fraternity, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls; and other organisations are: League of Catholic Women, the Rotary Club, and the Hamtramck Women's Culture Club. There are many, many more, but I have listed those which are currently in use, (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997: 79-81).

the teachings of the Vatican and serves a smaller proportion of Poles. The two (out of a total of 3 PRCC and 1 PNCC parishes) that I selected for my piloting stage were St Ladislaus, and the Holy Cross respectively ²⁷, both of which celebrated their 75th anniversary in 1995.

By 1920 Hamtramck had a population of 48,000, many of whom were Polish. There was a need for another parish community, and St. Ladislaus was formed. St Ladislaus church was built in 1922, with funds being made available from within the community, as well as a loan of \$58,000 from the First State Bank of Hamtramck. This was known as a temporary church building, and it was not until 1965 when more funds and an even greater loan allowed a more permanent building to be constructed, as well as a high school. The former building housed the church, junior high school classes, and four bowling alley lanes on its top floor.

As the parish population slowly suffered from attrition through parishioners moving away and dying, the resulting impact was the closure of its high school in 1982, and its grade school in 1992. Ironically however, the overcrowded city public schools have helped to revitalise the parish somewhat, as the Hamtramck public school district has leased space in St. Ladislaus' school building. This has meant that the parish has been able to continue religious education classes for its Polish community as well as for other (non-Polish) parishioners wanting religious instruction for their children. This has resulted in an overall increase in (all kinds of) children taking religious education lessons. The point must be made here of

²⁷ Labelled on Figure 2 (page 128), '1' and '2' respectively (in red ink).

the significance in this. In the UK Polish religious education lessons are free, and parents are not directly expected to contribute anything at all to the costs involved. Any money which is made available comes (as I discussed on page 120) from the PMS, or more informally from a Christmas tombola or a summer fête held at the school. On the other hand however, in America such lessons are not free hence the boost to St. Ladislaus' finances as a result of the demand for the extra classes. At the time of my fieldwork (September – December 1997), the priest informed me that the church's congregation was about 700 families.

Although St. Ladislaus is the smallest of the city's Polish Roman Catholic parishes, the priest there has the help of several part-time lay persons to assist with such matters as administration, as well as the full-time assistance of several nuns in the daily running of the church's various religious services available to the local community. These nuns or sisters are of the Felician order, and have a long history of contributing to the building of this Polish community. Since the early 1900s, the order has played a pivotal role in education throughout Detroit. It has been providing teachers for the Polish parishes not just in religious instruction, but (as a result of obtaining both diocesan and state certification) also those qualified to teach at the Polish grade and high schools (Wytrwal, 1992).

The Holy Cross Polish National Catholic Church took over the site of a previous church, and this Polish parish was also established in the 1920s. It is smaller than St. Ladislaus, and although does not have a school building, it does possess community facilities to hold its functions. During my fieldwork, the congregation of the Holy Cross was about 140 families. The Holy Cross priest is the only

full-time clergyman attached to this parish, and it falls to him to coordinate all the day-to-day tasks needed to run the parish efficiently. Since a great deal of his parishioners are scattered across the metro Detroit area, with the rest being local Hamtramck residents, tending to all their needs takes up much of his time. Holy Cross operates a soup kitchen to assist those members of its community (including both Poles and non-Poles) who have fallen on hard times.

Because Hamtramck really does 'fit' the classical ethnic community profile (Neils Conzen, 1979), it is possible to locate the relative positions of these two parishes, within the geographical confines of this Polish American community, in a way which was not really possible with the UK Coventry congregation, which was spread randomly, over a fairly wide area. From Map 2 (page 128), one can note the close proximity one had to the other, and I was independently informed by both priests that, at the time of my fieldwork (Sept - Dec 1997), they were then currently in discussions over pooling some of their 'resources' where their respective spiritual ideologies matched, since both had similar problems of ageing populations. The increasing costs required to administer to the needs of these parishioners was of concern to both priests. The priest informed me that because of the scattered nature of some of the Holy Cross' congregation, parents wishing religious education lessons for their children were happy for them to attend either St. Ladislaus or St. Florian's, which is the largest Polish parish in the area.

A third major aspect that distinguished Hamtramck from UK Polish communities, were a varied range of social activities. These were, the Parade Days, the public festivals, Christian food drives, Soup Kitchens, and a Mardi Gras (this latter was

Legend:

- City Hall
- Fire Station
- Library
- Parking
- Park
- Pope Park
- Police Station
- Recycling Ctr.

Streets: NEBEL, BOTSFORD, COMMOR, ZINOW, PULASKI, WHALEN, WHALEN, CASMERE, CASMERE, BURGER, HOLMES, HOLMES, CANIFF, TROWBRIDGE, BELMONT, YEMANS, EVALINE, EDWIN, NORWALK, POLAND, FLORIAN, BERNARD, GEIMER, WYANDOTTE, HEWITT, FABER, GOODSON, DANFORTH, ANDRUS, GRAYLING, ALICE, DENTON, LEHMAN, HANLEY, JACOB, ROOSEVELT, GOODSON, BERRES, DAN, COUNCIL, HAMTRAMCK DRIVE, CONANT, CASHMERE, HAROLD, PRESCOTT, CANIFF, TROWBRIDGE, BELMONT, YEMANS, EVALINE, EDWIN, NORWALK, DOREMUS, COMSTOCK, HOLBROOK, CONANT, VINCENT, CHRISTOPHER, VINCENT, OLIVER, DOROTHY, MILLER.

Landmarks: KEYWORTH STADIUM, GRAND TRUNK RAILROAD, BUFFALO, HAMTRAMCK DRIVE.

Highways: I-75, I-94.

Exits: Exit #55, Exit #217.

Other: N, CARPENTER, OMAHA, GRAND HAVEN, DEQUINDLE, DYAR, ST. AUBIN, LUMPKIN, NAGEL, COMMOR, FLEMING, AYDOW, JOSHUA, CAMPBELL, MCDONALD, CHAREST, GALLAGHER, SOBIESKI, KILGER, MORAN, CONANT, CASHMERE, HAROLD, PRESCOTT, CANIFF, TROWBRIDGE, BELMONT, YEMANS, EVALINE, EDWIN, NORWALK, DOREMUS, COMSTOCK, HOLBROOK, CONANT, VINCENT, CHRISTOPHER, VINCENT, OLIVER, DOROTHY, MILLER.

Hamtramck
A touch of Europe in America!

organised in order to raise money for, in this case, St. Ladislaus' grade school). Such activities were common to many US Polish communities, large and small. So much so that Ann Arbor, which I shall be discussing briefly in the next section, was found to organise its own share of local festivals, although on a much smaller scale (Wrobel, 1975; Wytrwal, 1992).

There are certain cultural activities endemic to Polish communities everywhere, but depending on the particular location, for instance America or British Polonian communities, the way in which they are observed is contingent on the context of the location. A good example of this is Pączki Day (Polish doughnut Day) which is derived from the Polish Easter tradition of Lent and is always celebrated on Ash Wednesday. This form of celebrating Lent is unique to American Poles.

People would make sacrifices and 'give things up for Lent', so the Tuesday before, they would 'fatten themselves up'. In this version of the celebration, lots of doughnuts are eaten on Shrove Tuesday, just like pancakes are eaten in the UK, but this of course has no religious connotation (Kowalski *et al.*, 1997).

Over the years the demographics of both parish populations have changed considerably. One reason for this has been the changing structure of local industry. Ford Motors started a downwardly spiralling economic trend, by closing down its main operating works in Hamtramck in the late 1960's. Chrysler, who owned Dodge Main, closed this plant down in 1979. The famous riots in Detroit are now but a line in the history books, but only those who were able to relocate did so. Those who were left, often had no long-term jobs on which they could

rely. Their prospects were bleak. Another reason was the building of a new highway (motorway) the I75 (Interstate 75) in the 1970's which cut across the Polish enclave (see Map 2 page 128). Everything west of it was demolished. This included many Polish Americans' homes, local shops, community facilities and a local Polish church. The effect of these changes on the Polish community was that several of the (other) churches had to be closed down, since areas adjacent to now empty factories, where Polish areas had once thrived, were now empty and derelict. These closures had a negative impact not only on the Polish community which derived much needed spiritual guidance and social support from their presence, but also on the local environment as well (Murphy & West, 1997).

For example, a result of these closures in concert with local job losses, was that many families moved away from the area and many others were forced to move and leave their homes. Wyrwal (1992: 14-15) writes, 'more than 66,000 houses and apartments vanished from Detroit in the 1980's, many bulldozed ... and others abandoned by residents who fled hard times and tough streets'. He continues, 'empty lots are one of the biggest destabilizing factors in the neighborhood'.

These events were seen to impact on existing parishes. As I mentioned earlier (page 125), the effect of a dwindling congregation on St. Ladislaus, for example, was that it had to close the high school in 1982, and merge its operations with St. Florians, the largest Polish parish in Hamtramck.

By 1991, the St. Ladislaus grade school fell victim to similar problems, as the enrolment dropped to 220 pupils and so did the funding they received from the

Education Board. Only 55 pupils had registered for the 1992-3 year and, as a result of these low figures, the School Board decided to close the school once the academic year came to an end.

The St. Ladislaus parish priest told me that as long as his church remained open then he felt that he'd had a reprieve. There had been some real concern in the past about the closure of this church due to the fact that it was now one of the smaller Polish parishes having lost some of its congregation for the reasons stated (p.130).

This is the background to the reasons why I was not happy to collect respondents from Hamtramck alone. The ongoing out-migration had removed a large number of post-war Polish Americans who were my 'target group' and having found, that for some, their destination had been Ann Arbor, I was able to examine their suitability fairly swiftly.

Ann Arbor is an unusual place, in that the city limits are surrounded on all sides by highways (motorways), which in effect help to make it very much a closed environment. It is also a 'University town', since it houses the University of Michigan, which has a total of almost 52,000 students annually, using the three campuses of Ann Arbor, Flint, and Dearborn. Whereas Hamtramck has a population of 18,403²⁸ (and Detroit as a whole has a population of 992, 038²⁹), Ann Arbor has a population of 109,608³⁰.

²⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990. Cited in *The World Almanac Book of Facts, 1998*, p.403.

²⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census: population estimated as of 1994. Ibid: 695.

³⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990. Cited in *The World Almanac Book of Facts, 1998*, p.403.

There is no geographical Polish community in Ann Arbor, and it says a lot for the tenacity of its various resident Poles, that they have established a community of sorts³¹. The religious activities are housed in a local Roman Catholic Church, St. Francis of Assisi, and a priest says Mass on the first Saturday of every month. It is also used to celebrate those social activities I mentioned earlier. They do not have premises for a school, but St. Francis allows the Polish community the use of two parish rooms. Whilst I was conducting my fieldwork, the Poles had restricted use of these facilities since they were in the process of being refurbished. This did not prevent them from conducting their usual social gatherings. It was at such gatherings, that I was able to observe on the occasions when I was present, the mix of Poles who attended them. The informal setting of these gatherings, as well as perhaps the lack of an alternative place in Ann Arbor for these American Poles to frequent, resulted in different waves of Poles socialising together in this setting. Those present therefore were third and fourth generation American Poles, Poles from my first generation respondent base, and more recent arrivals, namely younger Poles who had arrived from Poland to America only five to ten years ago.

Informal lessons are held by persons on a voluntary basis, much like at the Coventry Polish school. However, more formal (including private) tuition in the Polish language by approved teachers, which is geared towards accreditation level, is not free. When the first generation first arrived, there was no schooling available, and the parents who wished their children to learn Polish properly, paid

³¹ I will be dealing with certain additional aspects of Polish life in these two American communities in my discussion of fieldwork experience in my methodology chapter (Three).

a private tutor to teach them.

Conclusion.

The various partitions which form a major part of Polish history resulted in the widespread nature of American Polonian communities, which developed principally as a direct result of the many migrations. The mass arrival of peasants to America had in Poland been consigned to living out their lives under Prussian, Russian and Austrian repressive rule as a result of partitioned Poland, and were in the main economic migrants. As a result of the earlier insurrections in Poland's history, these various waves of peasants arrived to find already established Polonian support systems in situ created by the earlier (and somewhat smaller) groups of political émigrés. The overall development and position of the Polish American ethnic group to this day continues to be seen in terms of the peasant immigrant, as that of an uneducated and ignorant group of people (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994).

The development of the UK and US Polonian communities under discussion was inevitably in some ways going to be different, since it was contingent on their respective environmental influences. For instance, first generation Poles who arrived in America were greeted by enclaves rich with established ethnic support systems within they could choose to settle either permanently or just for the short term. On the other hand, first generation Poles arriving in the UK had no such support systems to help them get started in their new surroundings (Ibid.).

The UK Polonian settlement and its subsequent formation came into being as a direct result of its diasporic experience, and this solely underpinned the community's ideological existence as political (and not economic) in nature (Zubrzycki, 1988, 1992; Sword, 1996, 1988). The post-war US community, although also identifying with the political nature of their migration, developed on the other hand side by side with already established Polonian communities (Pula, 1995, Erdmans, 1998).

It is clear that in both locations the threat of the closure (of the Saturday school through lack of funds for the UK Polonian community), and in the case of the US location the removal of (whole geographical sections of the Polonian community), these ethnic markers which are formal representations of each Polonian community, indicate the intrinsic importance of formal institutions as an aspect of ethnic group identity (Waters, 1990; Wytrwal, 1992).

In the next chapter the methodological aspects are presented. I discuss the research design and the operationalisation of the research tools used. Whilst detailing how the sampling was carried out for both locations, I raise the concerns inherent in undertaking cross-cultural research.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction.

In this chapter I outline the main objectives of this study and discuss the various research methods used to carry these out. This is followed by a discussion on the merits and problems associated with carrying out research based on a case study approach. I then introduce the methods used to generate data, namely a combination of qualitative, quantitative and ethnographic approaches and detail how these are to be applied. This is followed by a discussion of how the research questions led to the concepts chosen and subsequently operationalized by the methods used. This is demonstrated by examining how three of the pivotal 'face sheet' variables, namely occupation and social class, health, and 'race and ethnicity' are constructed within the questions specific to this study.

I then discuss all the aspects of the research process associated with fieldwork, such as research design and gatekeepers, and how respondents were identified and selected for the pilot and main studies. This is followed by a discussion of the various methods used in interviewing respondents. Finally, I give a general account of the problems encountered when undertaking fieldwork in an unknown (overseas) environment.

Main Objectives Of This Study.

A combination of historical sources, questionnaires, and ethnographic methods was used to carry out the following objectives. The use of all these was considered to be crucial in order to generate suitable data. As I shall discuss in greater detail later

(pp.139-142) because a triangulation of these methods will, I hope, provide a fuller picture of the development of these two Polish communities. As I laid out in my introduction, the overall main objectives of this research are to attempt to do the following:

- To provide a socio-historical profile of a British white minority ethnic group's general composition and certain aspects of its health, in this case for British Poles.
- To assess the differences between ethnic/host society relations at first and second generation levels
- To establish how much, if at all, the associated tensions, lifestyle problems and (mutual) degrees of co-operation were discernible, and are likely to be different in character for the two generations [or intra-generationally] (Zubrzycki, 1992; Patterson, 1963; Kay & Miles, 1992; Hickman, 1998).
- Additionally, to evaluate any evidence of ethnic and cultural traits subscribed to by the first generation, and seemingly upheld by second generation Poles.
- Finally, to compare these issues (on a lesser scale) using an equivalent selection of first, and second generation American Polish respondents.

The smaller US sample which was thus obtained from an entirely different non-European environment, was also located within a society with a sizeable proportion of ethnic Poles, and which was ostensibly more pluralistic in its culture. These two aspects (of US society) may have acted as facilitating factors in the accommodation of my USA sample of first generation Poles, as well as affecting the subsequent ethnic orientation and self-identity of the second generation respondents.

The Use of Case Studies in Research.

The case study has a long history, and was the dominant style of social research for some time in America before the social survey took its place. This occurred mainly in the Chicago tradition of sociology (Thomas, Znaniecki, Park, etc.). This change in the way in which research was undertaken, was as a result of an ongoing

theoretical debate as to which of these two ‘methods’ was the most scientific, or ‘came closest to the methods used in the natural sciences’ (Blaikie, 2000: 218). Using Yin (1989:21-2)¹ as his source, Blaikie states that there are three major criticisms of case studies as a result of their comparison with quantitative methods, the first and of greatest concern is to do with poor research and biased findings, and he very succinctly sums it up (2000:218):

What this criticism boils down to is a prejudice that quantitative researchers have had against qualitative data, a view based on the mistaken belief that only numbers can be used to describe and explain social life validly and reliably....(In that) qualitative research,cannot be replicated because there is too much scope for the researcher to influence the results.

The second criticism is that case studies are not useful for generalising, since it is very difficult to generalise from a single case, and that if several cases are used, it is even more difficult to establish their ‘credibility’. The third and final concern is that case studies take too long as well as producing ‘unmanageable amounts of data’ (Blaikie, 2000:218).

Regarding the first criticism, this point is very much the standard argument used against all types of (qualitative) social research methods when compared with quantitative ones (Hammersley, 1990; Bryman & Burgess, 1994). With regards to the second, the same may be said about the study of a single population or a single experiment. On the subject of the third criticism, Blaikie believes, and I agree with him, that this concern mistakenly confuses the case study with more specific methods of data collection which might be particularly time consuming such as participant

¹ Cited in Blaikie, 2000:218.

observation (Blaikie, 2000:218).

One of the main arguments for the use of case study based research is that, if carried out rigorously, it can serve as a point from which one can both generalise and generate and test theory (Blaikie, 2000; Herbert, 1993). Bromley (1986) argues that the individual case study is ‘the bedrock of scientific investigation’². The reasoning behind this argument rests upon the type of case selected, for if it is typical and therefore similar to other cases in terms of its most relevant characteristics, then generalising becomes more appropriate (Bromley, 1986). Then again, this raises the problem in deciding whether a particular case is typical or actually ‘unique’ (Blaikie, 2000:222). I however, agree with Bassey (1981:85)³, in that one should not be overly concerned with the issue of ‘representativeness in the narrow sense’, but with the degree of ‘relatability’ of a case to the general population. Herbert (1993:39) citing Bromley (1986)⁴ states regarding the use of case studies, and in so doing underscores them as a valid vehicle for this present study, that ‘case studies can be used creatively or heuristically....to test theories’. Bromley (1986)⁵ however makes the final point regarding case studies, and encapsulates all the above points that I have raised in discussing their validity:

....individual case studies derive their scientific merit not so much, if at all, from representativeness or typicality, but rather from the insights they convey as vehicles for scientific explanation.

The generalisability (of my data) needs to be seen in the context of the ways in which my respondents were sampled. However, the representativeness of my sample is

2 Cited in Herbert, 1993:37.

3 Cited in Blaikie, 2000:222.

4 No page reference given for these quotes.

5 Cited in Herbert, 1993:39. No page reference given for these quotes.

equally contingent on the context of the two locations' populations. While any (statistical) inference depends upon an assumption of the representativeness (or unbiasedness) of the sample and the typicality of the location, theoretical generalisations are more dependent upon the cogency of the theoretical analysis upon which the argument is constructed.

Research Methods Used,

The research process utilised a combination of the following methods for data collection with some elements of a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), with the expectation that some of the theories would be generated from the data analysed. A triangulation approach proved to be necessary in order to allow the research to be as comprehensive as possible, given that the area of study is grossly under-researched, particularly in the UK (Williams, 1993).

① **Historical** - A broad assortment of literature and substantial data were gathered from a variety of sources. The nature of the data were quite varied, ranging across and including: respondents' personal and official documents; historical biographies; anthropological accounts of primary settlements to the present day (whenever available); specific sociological studies carried out on Polish migrations to the USA, and (where available), those carried out on the Polish migrations to the UK; socio-historical and socio-political literature detailing the history of some the many Polish settlements throughout the USA as a result of the various migratory waves; socio-religious literature documenting the Poles adaptation in their new environments; census materials; materials from archive and museum collections; and recorded oral histories.

② Interview/Questionnaire - The instrument used was a set of six different questionnaires for the interview process which themselves were formulated using material from a selection of large-scale surveys⁶, as well as a newly developed set of questions to address to the respondent samples. Questions were sorted into the following main categories (original order numbering, labels - bold figures in brackets indicating section page headings, are found in Appendices A and B, Volume Two).

1/ Household and demographic questions [1-6] - age, marital status, children, house ownership and household composition, respondent's and spouse's employment status.

2/ Polish ethnicity and religion questions [PE/R 1-14] - these were devised to assess how much the respondent knew about their own heredity, namely parent's place of birth, etc.; their involvement as a family in formal and informal Polish organisations when young, and as adults with their own children; maintenance of religion, language, friendship ties, and customs, and their importance to them as adults; parents' occupations here in the UK and (if relevant) in Poland before WWII; problems faced by parents throughout their lives in the host country and respondents' impressions of the impact of these events on their parents and themselves.

3/ Education and occupation questions [ED/OCC 1-4] – schooling background, qualifications from school level to date, importance of education to parents (first generation Poles), and the qualifications of any siblings.

4/ Psychological morbidity questions [GHQ 1-3] - using the General Health Questionnaire shorter (30 item) version. This is a screening instrument for psychiatric

⁶ Cox, B.D. 1987, *Health and Lifestyles Survey 1984-1985 (HALS)*. Various sections of the HALS questionnaire were used in this study, I introduced some modified elements which allowed for the ethnicity elements crucial to this research. Barker, M.E. et al. *Diet, Lifestyle & Health in Northern Ireland 1988 OPCS, Living in Britain: Results from the General Household Survey (GHS) 1994*.

disorder, which has also been used to measure generic well-being (see Blaxter, 1987,1990).

5/ Smoking and drinking questions [S&D 1-3] - levels of consumption in both contexts; whether parents smoked when respondent was growing up, and whether still do; as well as the smoking habits of siblings and close friends; spousal drinking habits.

6/ Health status questions [H&LS 1-15] – these ranged from cultural perceptions of health to the recording of any long-term illnesses (respondent's and parents only); general patterns of health and any regular dependence on medical attention. This section is in two parts, the first are the HALS questions (pages H&LS 1-12), from within the GHS and includes where relevant my cultural additions (in italics). The second portion (pages H&LS 13-15), cover perception of parent's psychological responses to the trauma of migration, war and host society accommodation⁷.

The questionnaires were comprised of both quantitative and qualitative elements. The main questionnaire was devised after administering a lengthy, but very productive pilot questionnaire. The questionnaire set was designed to be administered on a one-to-one basis, and if the subject permitted, I was able to tape-record sections; this was deemed essential, particularly for the open ended (qualitative) question sets, for the use of material in later analysis. One area of this was qualifying precisely certain meanings of answers respondents gave in quantitative elements of the questionnaires (Bryman, 1988). As I explain later on in this chapter, it is in the qualitative elements of the questionnaires, where information on an issue may be crucial, especially as a small sample may not be able to provide statistically significant evidence.

⁷ I relied heavily on the GHS when selecting those questions required within the general framework of comparability, of the health status of the first generation, against the equivalent indigenous population.

The interviews varied in duration, depending on how responsive the subject was at that given time, or whether there were any interruptions. In those cases where a subject was only prepared to be interviewed over the telephone, the interviews also varied in length. Interview times could take therefore anything from one hour to two and a half. The statistical package SPSS was utilised to facilitate the processing of the data.

③ **Ethnographic** - The third component of the research process was ethnographic in nature. It was necessary to have contact with all factions of 'the Polish community', in an attempt to establish any evidence of a common sub-cultural identity within both the communities under observation. In both communities I was a participant observer at major community events, Polish Saturday school meetings and many celebrations - both religious and secular. I interviewed community 'leaders' about their formal roles and everyday lives and, was invited by many of the respondents to their homes where I was able to personally witness how 'Polish' their lives, as second generation Poles, actually were.

Important Considerations in Implementing The Research Process

This next section deals with the problems I encountered in operationalising the research concepts in light of the general lack of available literature on white minority groups upon which this process would usually be based. However, the little available data on Poles that existed helped me to crystallise my original ideas into concepts, and it is these which I will shortly be discussing. The main concepts explored are: status competition, ethnic discrimination, maintaining cultural traditions, ethnic self identity, sub-cultural identity, and any relationship between health and ethnicity.

As I stated in Chapter One, the main body of British data and literature on 'Race' and Ethnicity is organised into mainly studying those immigrants to Britain from the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent. Although I support this type of approach, and this notwithstanding, all these studies once again fall broadly under the umbrella of racial discrimination against non-white minorities, and as a result are not at times directly relevant - nor completely applicable to my area of interest - namely trends in ethnicity maintenance between generations in white minority ethnic groups and any impact of maintenance on their (perceived) quality of life, with its relationship to health status.⁸

As a result, the lack of relevant health and 'race and ethnicity' literature on invisible white minority ethnic groups such as the Poles creates problems in the operationalisation of concepts which, as forms of personal experience, are unique to such groups. (Bowes and Domokos, 1993). Moreover, just as the above mentioned non-white minority ethnic groups have endured a range of negative life experiences in their adaptations to the host culture which may have impacted on their health and lifestyles, the same may be said of the Poles. Consequently, my use of culture and its relationship to health in second generation Poles cannot rely on simply assuming that these literatures alone (whose remit may be limited to the specificity of health care provision outcomes) - can serve as an indicator of culture and ethnicity maintenance, particularly where first generation non-white immigrants are the focus of investigation.

⁸ However, there are many fundamental elements of relevance, which I have noted earlier (Chapter One), many of which necessarily form the basis of my discussions regarding the lack of such studies on white minorities, as well as those elements used for direct comparisons in my discussions regarding white minority ethnic groups per se.

In this regard, it is hoped this new research will only serve to underpin those writings acknowledging the issue of white ethnic groups from a European (Western) origin, who also have their own set of (unseen) problems to overcome, as migrants in a foreign land and in a host society which itself identifies with a Western / European 'orientation' (Kay & Miles, 1992; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Hickman, 1995, 1997). To this end, this study attempts to examine what problems (if at all) second generation Poles have had in striving to maintain their ethnicity; to what degree if at all they have maintained it; and, whether within the context of 'host' community relations any difficulties felt by them, in their efforts to maintain a 'dual' ethnic identity, may have manifested itself in their lifestyles, quality of life and/or indeed their health.

In order to achieve these objectives, it was necessary to develop the above mentioned concepts (outlined on p142) into measurement tools which were suitable for carrying out this particular research (Herbert, 1993). A suitable measurement tool necessary to generate the data are a range of variables (indicators), which I will discuss next.

Selecting Suitable Variables For Social Research.

Amongst numerous others, standardly used key variables such as occupation and social class, race and ethnicity, educational attainment, religion, and health measures, were utilised for comparison between the different respondent groups, as well as against corresponding statistics for both the UK and US indigenous populations⁹.

⁹ In addition to this, I endeavoured to locate any evidence of intergenerational proclivity for maintaining traditional Polish customs (such as those observed by both sets of first generation Poles), within these two (comparable) second generation Polish immigrant groups.

Although I will address further aspects of the question of theory and research later on in this chapter, I will in essence be dealing with the relationship between research and theory here, whilst discussing the 'conceptualization' (Bulmer & Burgess, 1986:254) and ultimate 'operationalization' (Ibid. 255) of the variables used. I propose to do this by discussing the following three variables, namely occupation and social class, health, and 'race' and ethnicity, by attempting to locate the various specific difficulties inherent to this particular study in relation to each of them, as well as addressing any general problems evidenced whilst operationalizing their use in this research.

The Operationalization of Variables in the Context of this Research.

1) Occupation and Social Class.

There are many problems in the operationalisation of social class, not the least of which are the multitude of applications derived from its relationship with other 'face sheet' variables such as education, health, language and religion etc. Social class is seen as a distributional measure, and as such is the most commonly used measure for defining socio-economic position (Bulmer and Burgess, 1986).

Nevertheless, it is in the measurement of social class where occupation is the indicator, that its strength as a variable is most evidenced. The analysis of social class has been described as 'the great British obsession' (Marshall, 1990) and when in 1980¹⁰ John H. Goldthorpe published his Oxford Mobility Project findings as *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* the irrefutable correlation between

¹⁰ Goldthorpe published an expanded second edition in 1987.

occupation and mobility chances (in men) dramatically underpinned class-linked inequalities as well as sustaining a concept central to the mainstream of class analysis (the Weberian notion of market situation and work situation). The results from this project showed sixteen per cent of sons from working-class backgrounds gained upward social mobility to the service class, but that the figure for service class entry for sons with service-class fathers was nearly sixty per cent, showing a much higher chance of the attainment of this class position.

Since I am particularly interested in ascertaining whether in my two groups of respondents there is any relationship between ethnicity and status competition (Znaniecka Lopata, 1976a), utilising social class as a variable is central to operationalizing the concept of status competition. Znaniecka Lopata maintains that although sociologists have recognised the presence of status hierarchies and competition in social units, be they at the individual or aggregate level, in ethnic communities and indigenous population alike, she claims to 'find it strong among Poles and Polish Americans, and so do the Polish Americans themselves' (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994). Two of the ways in which this concept will be operationalized will be to look at second generation levels of educational and occupational attainment as compared with a comparable indigenous sample. In Braito's (1988:5) opinion high levels of educational attainment for Poles underpins Znaniecka Lopata's argument (above) for ongoing status competition within the Polish community.

Braito's own research identified a relationship between maintaining status and health, where a 'high self concept' (1988: 22) was one of the ethnic traits she attributed to Poles for whom constant striving to maintain a high status socially was deemed crucial.

In order to examine this concept therefore I need to look at social class by recording the occupations of both my first and second generation respondents from both case study locations and comparing these to a comparable indigenous sample. The problem of comparability is inherent to variables in general. The range of schemas or scales relating to social class testify to this, as each one utilises a different set of indicators to reflect different theoretical requirements. Here are just a few of the prevalent occupational measures available.

- 1) Registrar General's Social Class (RGSC) - this is the most widely used measure of social class, in official statistics compilations, as well as for large scale surveys such the General Household Survey and the Labour Force Survey (Marsh, 1986). It delineates primarily between non-manual (white collar) and manual (skilled, semi and unskilled - blue collar) occupations. This has (de facto) become the most widely recognised classification, dividing the population into five social classes I-V, but with social class III being further sub-divided into non-manual (III_n) and manual (III_m).
- 2) Socio-Economic Groups (SEGs) - RGSC has been found lacking in some respects, particularly in dealing inadequately, for example, with women's employment. The (unranked) SEGs were developed utilising employment status. The SEGs are more detailed than the RGSCs, and can be collapsed into something akin to Goldthorpe classes.
- 3) The Goldthorpe Schema - this was generated by the above mentioned Oxford Mobility Study, and takes account of employment status much more so than RGSC. Seven classes are distinguished, and modifications were made to acknowledge female occupations by subdividing class III into routine non-manual and personal service workers, as evidenced in the eleven class version (Marsh, 1983, 1986).

4)OPCS Standard Occupational Classification, ESRC Revised Goldthorpe Schema¹¹

Eleven classes are distinguished here, and this schema is based on the cross-classification of the 374 occupational unit groups and employment status. This updated version maintains continuity on the whole whilst subdividing certain categories in order to include specifically, teaching and nursing occupations¹².

As I went through the process of finalising my research questionnaire I utilised a number of the above. My initial occupational classification was the (seven class version) Goldthorpe schema. Using any class schema would initially necessitate the matching of my respondents' occupations to occupational groups within the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) (OPCS, 1991). This is so for a variety of reasons. My primary consideration had to be to use a broad enough set of occupational categories with which I might comfortably attempt to match occupations for my second generation Poles as well as first generation occupations held in the UK, as well as those occupations the first generation had in (pre-war) Poland. Secondly, a set of categories was needed which accommodated specific (vocational) occupations which were predominantly populated by women, namely teaching and nursing.

Therefore, the SOCs coding frame fulfilled my major requirements. Together with the seven category version Goldthorpe classification, and the RGSC, these sets of occupational categories are the ones used most extensively by me in my research¹³.

¹¹ During this research, several government 'offices' merged on the 1st April 1996. The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS), and the Central Statistical Office (CSO), became the Office for National Statistics. My citations, as well as any abbreviations, will reflect the publications used in year of issue.

¹² Even though women and people from ethnic minorities tend to occupy those positions in the Health Sector which are the lowest paid and least prestigious (Harding, 1989).

¹³ The surveys which I used as a basis for my research, The General Household Survey, and the *Health and Lifestyles Survey* both classified occupations by using the Registrar General's I-V classification.

We can see therefore, that depending on the user's orientation, a specific schema is utilised. This raises a potential methodological problem, particularly in academic research (as opposed to private sector requirements - who tend to use their own classification), where there is a concern that data derived from a variety of sources must be standardised for comparison (Rose, OPCS, 1995). Even though various instruments are now deemed as standard, and as such data can be utilised from a number of sources I was careful to use sections from a variety of surveys, whose elements would be appropriate for the necessary comparisons. Such examples are the General Health Questionnaire GHQ, and some elements of the 'smoking and drinking Habits' section of my questionnaire. The GHQ is a universally recognised 30 item version modelled on the original 60 item version¹⁴ (McDowell and Newell, 1996).

It follows therefore that I was equally cautious in ensuring that the data I derived from my fieldwork, and the data collated for secondary analysis, namely international statistics (US Census, and archival sources), as well as those equivalent sources gathered here in the UK were matched and came from similar (methodological) instruments for the purpose of comparison. I must point out however, that any inferences made from my two case studies are necessarily contingent on the context from which the data were derived. In other words, any generalisations are made on the basis that they refer to the populations in the two locations and not to the general ethnic population, though generalisations to this broader population are possible if one is prepared to assume that the locations are sufficiently typical.

¹⁴ This was first devised in 1972 by David Goldberg, as a self-administered screening instrument in general population surveys, which was designed to detect any current psychiatric disorders.

Another concern that I have with these class classifications is with the issue of unemployment. None of the schema explicitly allows for someone's current status being unemployed. I have attempted to allow for that in my own schema, which is based on the above (revised) Goldthorpe schema, and is used in addition to RGSC. Respondents were asked their current employment status as well as their actual occupation. This indicated any (long-term) unemployment, as well as indicating their (achieved) occupational status. As I mentioned earlier, in continuing to look for any evidence of a relationship between respondents' health and ethnicity, it is necessary to eliminate any other factors which may be responsible for poor health, and as such may in fact account primarily for this correlation (such as class/unemployment).

I was also concerned with what I still believe to be a grey area with regard to working mothers. Because many women's position in the labour market is peripheral, and felt by some to be directly as a result of mothering and gender bias in the labour market (Oakley and Oakley, 1979). Household income is currently based on the male's income and/or occupation, so women are assigned to their spouse's or partner's class, despite (e.g. respondents) perhaps comprising a two income family (Nielson, 1990).

I wish to extricate all these hidden (occupational) details via my questions, in order to obtain a more realistic portrayal of these women's levels of (occupational) achievement. Because, if left to the traditional schema, the result misrepresents the true 'social status and lifestyle' of the family unit under analysis (Marsh, 1986). I have therefore included categories in my original schema for this purpose, by addressing the actual occupational status of mothers (where available), as well as including their current employment status within the questionnaire for the purposes of respondents'

households being categorised more accurately. This is necessary, for if my sample of Polish females is found to have higher levels of educational and/or occupational achievement than the comparable indigenous sample, then I am able to further demonstrate the concept of status competition as being present in this specific sample of Poles.¹⁵

As I am trying to put together a socio-historical profile of the British Poles (albeit based on a sample of the population), it is necessary for me to gather information on both the first and second generation Poles, and therein lies a dilemma. The pre-war Polish occupational structure was different to the British one for a comparable time period. For example, even when occupations shared the same title, the position, status and content were not always the same, and vice versa (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994). At the beginning of WWII Poland was mainly agrarian and still showing some elements of serfdom within its occupational structure (Meyer *et al.*, 1979).

This notwithstanding, the limited data that exist on post World War II Polish (first generation) immigrants in Britain includes profiles of levels of educational achievement, as compared with equivalent indigenous males. These data inform us that Polish males levels of (finished) schooling were much higher than those of the indigenous group. In an analysis of data from the 10% sample of the 1961 Census (which corresponded to 28 London Boroughs), Davison (1966) establishes the following. In comparing Polish-born males with English-born males, he found that

¹⁵ As the female (and indeed male) children of immigrants whose (Polish) culture associated status maintainment or gain with occupational achievement and status loss with failure to achieve, it was found that both (achievement or failure) reflected on the family as a whole with all the associated ramifications (Braiton, 1988, Znaniecka Lopata, 1976).

30% of Polish males ended education at 20 years or above, compared with 4% for the English-born population. For females, the corresponding figures were 18% and 2%.

This finding ties in with extant literature which indicates that this particular wave of Polish immigrants was on the whole a better educated group than previous waves of Polish immigrants, such as those that headed for America at the turn of the century (Bram, 1983; Wytrwal, 1977; Sword, 1988; Zubrzycki, 1956, 1988; Brown, 1974).

Naturally, a compromise was needed, and by using the revised Goldthorpe schema, in conjunction with the other sets of occupational categories, I was at least able to 'triangulate' some sort of 'fit' for the range of the Polish professions (forestry, farm and land ownership) as indicated by my respondents. Admittedly however, given that the Registrar General's Social Classes are far from being internally homogeneous I would have no choice other than to allocate to the same social class - namely Social Class II - a large landowner, as well as a (tenant) farmer owning simply a few hectares of land.

But there was also another very important factor to consider, and this was that my first generation respondents had many jobs during their working lifetimes, and this was evident across the whole (occupational) spectrum of these respondents. Which job was I to select? In the case of recording a second generation respondent's father's occupation, I might normally be expected to choose that occupation held by their father when they were aged about fourteen. But I found, for example, that responses from respondents who were siblings varied depending on *their* age and in whichever occupation their father was then currently employed. However, since many of these

occupations were in effect transitional jobs in a (State imposed) restrictive job market, I elected to record the main occupation as 'father's or first generation male's main job before retiring', in order to maintain comparability of data (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

Another problem with trans-cultural occupational comparisons, was with the different meaning ascribed to intergenerational mobility. For Poles, it was the norm (given the prevailing economic and cultural conditions) for sons to work on the land alongside their fathers, and take over the responsibility for the land themselves one day (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994). If this (nil mobility) is directly compared with equivalent UK figures, given that traditionally agricultural labour has been classified akin to manual work, it conveys an inaccurate picture in two ways: First, in terms of occupational status, and secondly, intergenerational immobility. I have therefore attempted to obtain, where possible, occupational information not only on the respondent's father, but also on their grandfather. I believe that this can provide a broader picture of familial status and lifestyle in pre-war Poland.

Lastly, and in a similar vein, by asking first generation respondents what their proposed (if known) occupation was to be in 1940's Poland¹⁶, and asking the second generation likewise about their parents, I wished to reveal the various levels of educational and occupational status achievement in Poland of first generation Poles in the UK. None of their qualifications were officially recognised by the British government, and by extension by the labour market. The only (occupational) status

¹⁶ Given that the differences in age within this group would be as much as ten years, some would have still been in school, whilst others would have graduated and entered their proposed occupation.

attributed to the vast majority of first generation Poles was equivalent to 'manual' and this was given to them by virtue of restrictive job allocation measures, the acceptance of which was a condition for remaining in the UK (Kay and Miles, 1992; Sword, 1988).

It is deemed crucial to indicate whether professionals trained in Poland suffered 'status loss'¹⁷ as a result of these policies (Braitto, 1988). This is one way that I am able to operationalize the concept to explore any relationship between health and ethnicity, in looking at any impact as a result of ethnic / host community relations and respondent's self reported health. These issues will be taken up fully in Chapter Four, under the main discussion section.

2) Health.

As I have already laid out in the health section of my literature chapter there are very few applicable data on (the general health trends of) white minority groups, and what is available on Poles is predominantly research in a narrow field of study which looks at mental health and its relation to first admission rates, and the collation of mortality rates etc. (please refer to p.p. 80-87). Consequently this has made the operationalization of my concepts regarding health, especially in its association to ethnicity, much more difficult.

However, in the course of my investigations of immigrant health trends whilst I was in the early stages of trying to define the parameters for this research, I discovered that

¹⁷ With their Polish professional qualifications being unrecognised and thus making it virtually impossible for them to obtain equivalent jobs it led to what Hitch calls 'considerable status incongruity', itself considered to contribute to the onset of mental illness (1975: 284).

there was a particularly relevant psychiatric unit in Bradford¹⁸. This was the Transcultural Unit at the Lynfield Mount (psychiatric) Hospital, which specialises in immigrants' mental health problems. Their classification of 'immigrant' for inclusion into their programme was any foreign born person, and their offspring. In addition to other patients from various ethnic origins I discovered that there was a regular quotient of second generation Polish patients based at the Unit who required either out-patient or full-time attention.

The senior psychiatrist informed me that in their diagnoses of all their patients they were necessarily mindful of the **effects of culture and ethnicity** on the individual much as in the same way that Littlewood and Lipsedge (1989) state that they were in their analyses, so much so that the Unit identified specific cultural traits (Braito, 1988) which, although not exclusive to specific ethnic minorities, were nonetheless heuristic tools that they used to characterise problems and which enabled them to subsequently make a diagnosis. Amongst several identified by them as (Polish) 'traits', the maintaining of which had caused in their professional opinion, the onset of mental health problems in the case of their second generation Polish, were 'status competition' and very high educational achievement goals¹⁹.

Even though this present study is not looking at clinical levels of (mental) health, this example nonetheless makes it clear that matters of health and their study is a complex issue, and needs to be approached contextually, and as a result I formulated the

¹⁸ It is noteworthy to mention here the extreme kindness and assistance which I received from (Dr) Peter Hitch.

¹⁹ The senior consulting psychiatrist informed me of their findings when I visited the Unit in 1994, offered me access to their records and invited me to sit in on one of their patients' discussion sessions.

additional questions ([H&LS 13-15], discussed on page 141) to the health section of my questionnaire. These questions were of a qualitative nature, and asked respondents in addition to questions regarding migration, whether they thought the effect of maintaining or feeling unable or unwilling to maintain their ethnicity had either a positive, negative or indifferent impact on their state of health.

Therefore in order to test any possible impact on my respondents' health I chose those questions specifically which looked at a (self reported) awareness of any influence of ethnicity in the daily lives of both first and second generation respondents. Furthermore, by their content these questions examined an awareness from a second perspective of whether the parents' problems had had any impact on their (self reported) quality of life²⁰. These questions allowed scope for a broader qualitative response to expand their feelings on above mentioned impact.

Scase and Godfrey detailed their preference for a qualitative approach rather than a quantitative²¹ one in their study, on the basis that all social research methods were in large 'dictated by the nature of the research problem' (1982:198). In this case they were interested in identifying the assorted 'dynamics' and 'social processes'. As they stated, 'it was our intention to define more precisely the nature and the interrelationships.....The complexity of these issues did not favour quantitative research' (Ibid.).

²⁰ The following questions (Appendix B, Volume Two) relate to the core operationalisation of the health and ethnicity concept.

²¹ I will be discussing the use of quantitative and qualitative measuring instruments later on in this chapter.

It therefore is to be expected that any useful discussion surrounding health as a key variable should begin with some kind of explication as to how health should be defined, as well as taking into account (where relevant) its potential relationship to ethnicity (Ahmad, 1992a, 1993; Williams, 1991, 1996, 1997; Williams (R), 1992), or the social origins of disease as demonstrated by Brown and Harris' study (1978) on the social causation of clinical depression.

In my attempts to operationalise health as a variable, I needed to look at certain aspects of my respondents and ensure that all the sub-groups within my sample would be represented. However, in looking at the indicators of health currently available, I had to assess for which purpose they would be required, as well as the type of analysis being undertaken by me, as there are many different kinds of measurements²², and it is evident that I opted to a large extent for using the measures from the *Health and Lifestyles Survey* for my research.

In Blaxter's analysis of the *Health and Lifestyles Survey* she informs us that these (n=9,003) respondents, on the whole, tended to defined health in their common sense (lay) terms which were more in tune with the World Health Organisation's (WHO) definition of health than that of the professional (biomedical) model. The WHO defines

²² Very broadly, these are the main groupings within which measurements of health may be found:
i Those associated with the health status of persons and populations - measures of morbidity and mortality;

ii Those concerned with all health service provision (access to hospitals, doctors, births, etc..),

iii Those environmental conditions which might have some bearing on health status (air pollutants etc.);

iv All those which might fall under the general term of mental health (clinical - psychiatric measures, life satisfaction, quality of life etc..).

It is important to point out, that in the extrapolation of these medical data it is assumed that 'illness' is uniform (Roberts, 1990).

health as a 'state of complete physical, social and mental well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity' (quoted in Blaxter, 1990: 3). There is no universal ideal type model of health, as 'Third World' countries show different patterns of health to those of industrialised ones.

Health therefore as Blaxter (1989: 35) defines it, 'is not, ...a unitary concept. It is multi-dimensional, and it is quite possible to have 'good' health in one respect, but 'bad' in another', (i.e. despite the absence of disease, and illness, an individual may still not define themselves as being in a state of (good) health, or healthy). In a small scale study (with 10 respondents) which looked at the health of Bosnian refugees in Canada (Kopinak, 1999: 74), responses to questions regarding their notions of positive health prompted 60% (6 in total) of them to reply that (positive) health constituted a balance between physical and mental well-being. Some of these comments were: 'If mind (is) okay, then body is too', and, 'I'm physically healthy, but I have problem with nerves'.

In a previous study which I carried out on first generation Poles (Staniewicz, 1994), I found that although their explanations for their various illnesses might have differed from their British counterparts, based on differing cultural worldviews etc., they too (unlike the biomedical view) saw merit in a concept of health as defined by parameters which included *both* physical and mental well-being. They were also (just as the Bosnian respondents) acutely aware of the effects of the persecutions and traumas, that they experienced as refugees, soldiers, and Displaced Persons (DP) as a result of WWII and the impact that these events may have had on their bio-psychosocial health. A person's current state of health may also, therefore, be in some ways influenced by

past experiences as well as future objectives (Kopinak, 1999).

It is evident, from just this small selection of people that, there is *one*, an awareness of the effects of life-events on an individual's psyche; and *two*, as health and illness shape and set limits to social lifestyles, correspondingly, each (of us) may view our respective states of health and illness from a different (cultural) perspective.

It was precisely these kinds of considerations which led to me choosing a concept which looked at health within the context of ethnicity. Having conducted my 'first generation' respondent interviews it is clear from their responses that many believe their (wartime) experiences actually impacted on their well-being, and subsequently their quality of life. It follows, therefore, that I might expect to see some association of this with their health profile and (elevated) rates of specific illness. What is not yet clear at this stage in the research however, is whether these rates will differ from extant figures in a comparable indigenous population (such as HALS etc.).

Lastly, the notion of conceptualising health is as broad as it is complex, and any attempt to operationalise research in this field needs a clear definition of measurement. This itself is an area of great complexity, for as I stated earlier, definitions are required not just for health, but parameters for illness and disease should also be included.

There is only real value in using any measure of health if it is valid, or in other words, if it is contextually meaningful. Therefore, measurement models must accommodate a validity component, but as health and its images are seen to be socially constructed (Sedgewick, 1982; Sheridan and Radmacher, 1992; Foucault, 1973; Cartwright, 1983; Curren and Stacey, 1986; Morgan et al, 1985), assessments of the validity of such measurements will, to a great degree, involve an element of subjectivity.

3) Race and Ethnicity.

One of the biggest problems with any attempt to define both ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ is that the subjective labels given to them over time within different societies have resulted in their meanings being altered (Bulmer, 1986; Bulmer & Burgess, 1986; Stanfield II & Dennis, 1993). In Britain for example, with regard to ‘race’, such changes reflect both the historical development as well as the changing face of politics as it tackled the ‘problem’ (sic) of the influx of members from the British Commonwealth and what was to become known as ‘race relations’²³.

There is also the occurrence in the US of a different kind of change. In this case, many individuals have been known to assign a different heritage to themselves at different points in their lives, *directly as a result of* changing societal perceptions of (certain) ethnic groups over time (Waters, 1990; Aguirre & Turner, 1998). Waters also says that individuals choose some elements of their ethnicity above others which they then maintain and this she calls *symbolic ethnicity*. She maintains that ‘symbolic ethnicity persists because it meets a need Americans have for community without individual cost’ but more importantly, that a ‘potential societal cost of this *symbolic ethnicity* is in its *subtle reinforcement of racism*’ (Waters, 1990: 164, my emphasis).

Bulmer (1986: 66) demonstrates the ongoing problems involved in attempting to measure and conceptualise race, and presents seventeen studies to illustrate precisely how little uniformity there is, ‘either in the way in which race is

²³ Please see Chapter One of this work for a more detailed account of the development of the politics of race relations in the UK.

conceptualized, nor how it is measured'. The most common terminology in these reviewed studies was a designated race to indicate place of origin, which of course presumed that the group(s) in question were undifferentiated. Therefore Indians and Pakistanis were classified together, as were all those with some association to Africa.

However, more recently, emphasis has been placed on the question of descent which takes into account the (chosen) ethnicity of (certain) second and third generations, allowing greater leeway for the self-expression of a person's identity (Bulmer, 1986). I say 'chosen' and 'self-expression' because only very recently the ethnicity section of the UK Census, which was only introduced in 1991, was amended to include, and therefore acknowledge, the self-expression of the following categories for the 2001 UK Census: the Irish; Mixed; Asian; British; Black British.

For the first time the recent 2001 census extended the category 'White', and offered the opportunity to qualify one's sense of whiteness, so for example a second generation person could list their parental heritage if so wished. However it is not known whether there will be much interest in adding these details, and more importantly, how a potential myriad of such answers will be coded.

This notwithstanding, because of the traditionally assumed homogeneity of 'whites' In the UK, census data available at the time of this study was unable to inform me about the composition of white minority groups (in this instance the Poles) and their geographical distribution, or internal migration; nor was I able to learn

anything about levels of any deprivation suffered by these assumed assimilated ethnic groups, as one is able about non-white minorities in the UK (Ratcliffe, 1996). Until there are changes which acknowledge adequately the vastly undifferentiated nature of 'Whites', and by this I mean a specific category for the ethnic groups who all form part of this category, this source of widely used official data will continue to tell us very little about their nature, and their changing structure (Temple, 1994b; Dobson, 1989)²⁴. At present, I feel that the current system of data collection underpins a (racialised) notion that requires the disaggregating, cataloguing, and dissemination of only non-white ethnic groups for politicised purposes, such as perpetuating differences between whites and non-whites (Solomos, 1989; Ahmad, 1993; Skellington and Morris 1992; Miles, 1993).

Just as there may be unjustified assumptions regarding ethnic group classification in the UK, there are also problems of a similar nature in the US, with American social researchers tending to treat race categorization data as (equally) unproblematic (Stanfield II & Dennis, 1993). As I pointed out earlier (page 160) in reference to Waters' notion of selective heritages, difficulties arise for (qualitative) researchers during their efforts to identify the ethnicity of their respondents who *appear* to have no racial identity. Whereas quantitative researchers 'embrace uncritically the statistical categories derived from government documents'

24 We shall have to wait and see whether the acknowledgement of the Irish as a distinct ethnic group, which has been a tremendous struggle for all those concerned (Hickman, etc.), will begin to alter the disparaging image that the Irish have had to endure for so long, (very much like that the Poles have and are subjected to in the US today). In any event, this can only be of advantage to other white minority groups as it raises the profile of these groups as a consequence.

(Stanfield II & Dennis, 1993: 18), constructed meanings of 'whiteness' and 'blackness' for interviewers conducting qualitative research are usually derived from the subjects' own self-identification. As a result American researchers are often at a loss to make a distinction as to whether their respondents' 'expressed racial identification is a response to objectified categorization derived from learning experiences in a race saturated society, or merely a subjective admission' (Ibid.).

If one then adds the two-tiered racial matrix in American society, where everyone is either - Euro-American or Afro-American, Euro-American or Asian, or Euro-American or Latino - the categorization of individuals becomes even more complicated, especially as choice has been shown to be dependent upon situational and historical circumstances (Stanfield II & Dennis, 1993: 22). Some of Waters' respondents had quite mixed ancestries (Waters, 1990: 178-179). One Dan Burke, was the following ethnic mix: Irish-Norwegian-Dutch-English-French-American Indian. Another, Stan Ostrowski, was: Polish-German-Scots-Irish. Waters found that some of her respondents chose one of these and made that the dominant one even though that particular part of their ethnicity comprised only one eighth of their ancestry (Ibid.).

That particular problem was not one which I had to deal with, since all my respondents are either first or second generation Poles. However, in operationalising the concepts which deal with the examination of an awareness of ethnic identity either as ethnic self-identity or sub-cultural ethnic identity, I had to be careful that I did not inadvertently construct a rigid notion of an ethnic identity which respondents might not recognise when asked (whether they felt Polish as

part of the ethnic community, or simply Polish in a personal sense). I therefore elected to offer a range of Polish customs, both religious and secular, publicly and informally observed, from which respondents were able to signal which, if any, were upheld by them and their families. In the case of second generation respondents, I noted which ones were practised during childhood, and which were retained by them as adults.

The operationalisation of ethnicity as a variable therefore, requires an approach which encompasses the consideration of many possible aspects of the research process, and importantly, one should never overlook the impact that one's own ethnicity may have, not only on the research process, but also on the finished product.

ASPECTS OF FIELDWORK

Accessing Gatekeepers.

I wish now to cover those remaining areas regarding the preparatory measures required when setting up the parameters of the research process which I still have not addressed. I will start with accessing one's respondents, via gatekeepers.

The process of obtaining a sample is not an easy one and gatekeepers are often the route of entry into the formal or public element of an ethnic community, especially if like me, one is new to that community. Theoretically, Coventry was deemed to be a good choice as it was fairly self-contained as a city, and not spread over too great an area. The Polish community had its own church, parish buildings for regular functions, an Ex-Combatant's Club, and a Polish Saturday school which was housed

in one of the local state schools. Incidentally, a number of other ethnic communities in the area also used the school for their own cultural traditions such as language and history lessons, and other activities, although these were mainly for children. Coventry was also the source of labour for a major industry, car manufacturing, as well as belonging to an area regionally earning the name 'industrial Midlands' on account of the plethora of smaller industries which had developed in the area since WWII.

In the case of the Polish community in Coventry, which shares a similar kind of hierarchical composition with most of the Polish émigré communities²⁵, my first points of contact were: the Polish parish priest, primarily for first generation respondents; the Saturday School, for second generation parents as potential respondents; the local Polish 'BBC (Midlands) Regional Radio' station based in Coventry; and the telephone directory. I was also in contact with those academics who had an interest in the Polish community, and this kept me apprised of any ongoing research on the Poles.

One of the main problems for a researcher regarding the necessary use of such gatekeepers is that invariably you find that at some point whilst negotiating your 'access' to the community at large, requests are made by the gatekeeper which may, or may not, compromise your own goals as a researcher and raise ethical issues (Burgess, 1982; Easterday *et al.*, 1982). For example, I was asked by one person in the UK community to report back my findings on why specific individuals were no

²⁵ Sword's *Identity in Flux*, 1996, gives a comprehensive account of such communities in Britain. I had been in contact with the author, Keith Sword, ever since I was doing my MA in 1994. It was he who gave me contact numbers for the Polish radio presenters, and Polish community leaders in Coventry.

longer interested in maintaining certain aspects of Polish traditions. I replied that they were welcome to read the research once it was completed, but that the only way I believed that my respondents would speak freely with me was on the basis of complete confidentiality and so I was not in a position to disseminate my findings at an individual level (Cottle, 1982)²⁶.

That particular gatekeeper did not agree to being interviewed, and the episode did not cause me any real problems with access. On the contrary, word seemed to spread about my reluctance to give out such information, and at times preceded my interviews and I found that it became a very effective 'tool' in attracting respondents. I would sometimes be asked whether it were true and could they also rely on my discretion, which often led to quite open-hearted interviews.

There is also the possibility that the gatekeeper might wish you to have access to only a sanitised or censored version of the community. In other words, and an example of what also happened to me, was that a very helpful 'community leader' decided to only let me have details of community members whom they believed represented the Polish community in Coventry in the way that *they* believed the ethnic group ought to appear to an outsider. It is important to note that I often only got my foot in the door purely on the basis of my being a second generation Pole, any additional requirements or further access by me had to be negotiated by me, with the procedure being repeated each time I approached a new gatekeeper.

²⁶ Their faith in my discretion resulted in much interesting and revealing data, as evidenced by the sensitive nature of many of my respondents' confidences, which I use throughout my main discussion (Chapter Four).

Research Design, Data Sources and Piloting Stage.

It was decided to extend the search for suitable respondents beyond Coventry if necessary, to Leamington Spa and Daventry, because of the close ties which were had by these communities. Leamington Spa has its own Polish centre and both Saturday school and Mass are held at the centre which is the site of an old police building. But the community is small and they often join forces to put on activities at various times of the year. The Polish priest from Coventry regularly administers to the religious and spiritual needs of Poles in Daventry, as they have no church, so they form part of his parish.

Due to a variety of influencing factors such as time constraints etc, what was to have been two equally sized comparative component parts of this research (one being carried out in the Coventry - West Midlands area and the other in South Michigan, USA), had to be changed.

The UK segment became the larger base line component, and originally was to have consisted of (approximately) 150 respondents, 75 each of females and males. These were of course all offspring from the first wave of Poles who settled in Britain as a result of the Second World War. The parameter guide for their age range was from 28 - 45 years. This was to have been a form of quota sample, structured around parental heritage (as well as gender and class). I had determined that the way to devise the best possible mix to represent the various ways in which my respondents might have had access to their Polish heritage was to choose groups of respondents with either one Polish parent, or both. One theoretical assumption was that these various combinations might of course influence how much or how little exposure to Polish

culture and social networks they had, and I felt that they would provide interesting points of comparison when looking at levels of Polish ethnicity maintenance, sub-cultural identity, and ethnic and host relations. Figure 1 (below) gives an idea of my initial goals, and shows my original research design (later abandoned), with the breakdown of respondent type, and the number of respondents I had anticipated collecting. At this stage I had planned to have each class cluster of equal size (8 or 9).

Figure 1 Basic Research Design Schematics.

No of respondents:		48-56		48-56		48-56	
		24 - 28	24 - 28	24 - 28	24 - 28	24 - 28	24 - 28
		<u>Two Polish Parents:</u>		<u>Polish Mother Only:</u>		<u>Polish Father Only:</u>	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
PROFES-							
SIONAL							
WHITE							
COLLAR							
BLUE							
COLLAR							
UNEMP/							
LOYED							

During my piloting stage however, it became increasingly evident whilst contacting first and second generation Poles alike, that not only would I be unable to furnish myself with *equal* numbers of BPP (both parents Polish), PMO (Polish mother only, and PFO (Polish father only) respondents, but I also would be unable to locate sufficient numbers of second generation Poles to fill the three social class clusters, as

well as the unemployed clusters, for all three sub-groups. My design was therefore modified and I had to change from locating a quota sample, to something closer to a random sample of the population.

Therefore as a result, achieving those (proposed) numbers per sub-group (in Figure 1, p.168) was no longer possible. This however was in many ways not disadvantageous, as this would obviously not adversely affect comparing my findings with extant official statistics and it would also bring me more in line with the random sampling carried out to compile the HALS datasets, with which I was to compare the health of my first (and second) generation samples, to see whether their health was in fact in line with an equivalently aged indigenous population sample (Blaxter, 1990).

Generating a Pilot Sample for the UK Location²⁷.

The UK pilot sample was collated in the following way. My meetings with the parish priest in Coventry proved very fruitful and generated between 60-70 families after I had checked those given to me in the telephone directory and had to eliminate about 15% due to incorrect details (e.g. some passing away; not up to date; some moving away). I was also visiting the Saturday school where the headmaster allowed me access to parents and teachers. When I felt that I had a reasonable cross-section of potential respondents, I conducted my pilot. At this stage I was trying to assemble suitable respondents to fill the various clusters in my research design (Figure 1, p.168). The pilot involved mainly the following basic topics: age, occupation; any siblings, were *any* Polish customs maintained; any knowledge of Polish language; Saturday School and Polish Mass attendance – in childhood, and now; and any

²⁷ I discuss the American pilot further on in this chapter, p.p.179-182.

strong feelings towards, or against, their ethnic backgrounds. I interviewed quite a lot of second generation Poles for this UK pilot (n=32), 59.4% (n=19) of whom were interviewed on the telephone and the rest face to face either at the respondent's home, my home, or the school where Polish lessons were taught on Saturdays. In all cases, the piloted sample agreed to being re-interviewed if necessary as part of the main UK interview sample.

This sample size was fairly large for a pilot, but I was very conscious that the experience of Polishness in the Midlands most probably differed in some ways from my own Polish childhood in London. The means of building up potential respondent numbers at this early stage (by snowballing) had also proved very useful in accessing those individuals who were more difficult to locate directly, such as second generation Poles who no longer felt that they in any way were part of the Polish community, or indeed, felt that they themselves had no interest in their Polish backgrounds.

I was proved right in my concerns regarding the experience of being Polish in the Midlands, as life in a contained environment such as Coventry, was quite different in some respects to life in London. In the latter, there were a plethora of Polish parishes, often just a short bus ride from one another, each often being self-sufficient, providing a Saturday School and other civic functions for its parishioners (Gula, 1993). There was also the Polish Cultural Centre, and many of the ex-Combatants' clubs, and the ex-Polish Air Force Club are sited in London. Such differences of course raise the question of the scope for generalising from (my) case studies. However, I was to find that in the main, although the setting was different, the same major traditions were observed and in very much the same way as had been my experience in London.

The pilot was successfully carried out, and one of its main objectives was to locate as many female respondents as possible. These were the most difficult to access from within the community, especially those from a PMO background. This is because locating suitable second generation female respondents by name is a difficult task anyway, (e.g. perhaps now married), so tracking down PMO females whose names from birth were not Polish, were not married, and had very little to do with the community, was harder still. I relied heavily on the thoughtfulness of my future respondents, for which I am grateful. Because the geographical boundaries necessarily imposed in accessing respondents currently living *within* the research environs, I ended up with only 16 PMO respondents²⁸. I might have had more PMO respondents, as I was given permission to contact several who had left the UK research area not long before I started my research. However, my 'cut off' point dictated otherwise, and I (rigorously) restricted my search for prospective respondents to those for whom this location was their domicile.

Preparing for the Fieldwork, and 'Pre and Post' the Interview Stage.

One of the major outcomes from the pilot was that I needed to devise the questions for the main questionnaire sets with a fairly differentiated groups of individuals in mind. Trying to accommodate only first and second generation respondents is no easy task, but add to this three sub-groups, and two distinct cultural influences, and the operationalisation may at times seem insurmountable. As I have already discussed in some detail the content, as well as the administering of my six questionnaire sets earlier in this chapter (pages 140-142), I wish now to highlight some common

²⁸ Please turn to Chapter 4, p. 191, where I fully outline my respondent, and sub-group totals used in this research.

problems (that I) encountered during the interview process, as a result of the varied responses from the above groups.

A good way to demonstrate this is by example, using one of the many questions which ‘threw up’ many more responses than I had originally allowed for. Below I have listed the final choices available to respondents, to the question: ‘*How do you see yourself, as a Pole, British, a British Pole / American Pole, or an American?*’²⁹:

- 1/ Pole
- 2/ British
- 3/ British Pole
- 4/ Neither
- 5/ Other
- 6/ European*
- 7/ English*
- 8/ Displaced Person
- 9/ Displaced Pole*
- 10/ American Pole
- 11/ American
- 12/ Polish American*

The additional categories represent 8% of the total UK sample (9; n=112), and 21% of the total US sample (7; n=33). As a result of these experiences I decided that when post-coding my questionnaires, I might find it easier to modify my questionnaire sets to accommodate as many responses (within reason) as possible when I was composing my coding frame for inputting the data into SPSS for (the quantitative) analysis of these data (de Vaus, 1986)³⁰.

There are also important considerations relating to post-coding open-ended questions. These questions were included to allow for further self expression and in order for the respondents to be able to qualify a ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ response and many such questions

²⁹ Those with asterisks represent additional categories from responses to this question, Q.39 PE/R 12.

³⁰ Post coding additions in the questionnaire sets are all in italics, and may be viewed throughout the various questionnaire sets, in Appendix A.

were in *Polish Ethnicity and Religion* [PE/R], and the *HALS* [pages H&LS 13-15] questionnaire. A flexible approach is essential in this stage of the research process, especially for me, since the difficulties of classifying (at least) the majority of responses, made me conscious of the fact that I would possibly have even more changes/additions after my American field trip, to accommodate the US sample – both first and second generations.

Generating the Main UK Sample.

As a result of the pilot study, snowballing generated a veritable cache of prospective UK first and second generation respondents, who were derived by the following methods. The largest amount were generated by lists of names obtained from piloted individuals, a number of whom offered to call their friends and/or siblings ahead of me by way of introduction, and these new additions in turn offered more contacts once they themselves had been interviewed, etc. A total of 58 additional second generation names were produced this way. The other main source of possible respondents came from me literally trawling through the telephone directory. Of course, any name changes for females as a result of marriage to someone not having a Polish name, meant that this search was weighted heavily in favour of finding male candidates. This method of cold calling produced an additional 29 second generation, and 11 first generation candidates (bearing in mind that I already had a lot of first generation names from my visits to the priest, as mentioned on page 165).

I put out a call for interviewees on one of the weekly editions of the BBC local Polish radio shows and received only a very small albeit fruitful response in the form of two suitable respondents. After I had gauged the suitability of these various new groups of

possible respondents, by eliminating those which were ones previously on my list, and those who were not interested, as well as those who in some way did not fit the research profile of potential respondents (i.e. not actually born in the Midlands at all, and/or born in Poland and came over to the UK when young), I set about deciding on how to choose my respondents.

As I noted earlier (p.p.168-9) because potential respondents were being gathered via several routes within the research catchment area there was a lot of scope to try and fill the clusters, in this case hopefully equal numbers of male and female second generation respondents who were BPP, PMO, and PFO. However it is clear from my earlier discussion (pages 168-171) that not only locating equal numbers of male and female respondents was a problem, but that this had also been the case when I tried to unearth equal numbers of PMO and PFO candidates to BPP candidates.

One of the problems created by this shortfall was that these differences would make statistical analyses that much more difficult given that the small group sizes did not allow for comparable disaggregation. This would ultimately affect any inferences made using the data, on the basis of small numbers of respondents. Another problem was that once I had a reasonable amount of potential respondents from which to choose, I had decided to systematically pick every third one from a list on which they had been placed, in the same order that I had originally received their names. I was able to do this in the case of potential BPP respondents, since I had amassed a sizeable amount of these respondents. However in the case of PMO and PFO respondents, I felt it necessary to use almost all of those which had been generated via my methods, since there were so few. However I feel that my sample is approximately

representative (and not over-sampled), because the small number of potential PMO and PFO respondents represented difficulties in locating these kinds of respondents. The only exception were two PFO siblings who were completely uninterested in talking to me whatsoever. My overall response rates were really quite excellent, in that only a total of 7 second generation individuals (including those 2 PFO just mentioned) refused point blank to speak with me, and to have anything to do with the questionnaires. Only 2 first generation persons said that they were not interested in speaking with me. All these refusals were on first contact, and not during the interview. Non-response rates were therefore quite low.

Once my respondents had been chosen, and this included all those from my original pilot, except one female who had by that time had changed jobs and moved abroad, I started to conduct my interviews, and the same methods were used to carry this out as in the pilot. These were of course being interviewed in my house, in the respondent's own home, on Saturdays at the school, or by telephone. The incidence of interview by telephone was lower than it was for the pilot, and only 28% (29) of all second generation Poles wished to be interviewed over the telephone. All first generation respondents were interviewed face to face. The interviews varied in length, and took approximately between one and a half to three hours.

Pitfalls in Overseas Fieldwork.

I came to see my experience of overseas fieldwork as encompassing three main areas.

Conducting comparative fieldwork in two different environments, is a process strewn with problems which you as a researcher are expected to deal with efficiently and swiftly. Everyday things that we take for granted in our daily lives are really quite suddenly thrown off kilter.

1/ America as a research location.

Although I tried to find out as much as I could about the research site, nothing quite prepared me for when I first arrived. My schedule consisted of the following: to familiarise myself with my surroundings; to conduct my pilot; to access my prospective respondents for interviewing; and, to carry out extensive archival research – based in sites often hundreds of miles from the fieldwork site.

I was very fortunate in that I had a base at the University of Michigan, very kindly provided jointly by the Sociology Department and the Institute for Social Research (ISR). They provided me with office space, access to a computer terminal, and most importantly, unlimited library access, and e-mail – which proved to be crucial, allowing me to carry out literature searches almost every day, as well as keeping in touch with my supervisors. For this reason I made Ann Arbor my base.

My primary site for accessing suitable respondents was Hamtramck, Detroit, which was thirty miles from where I was staying, in Ann Arbor, not far from the University. However when I contacted a Roman Catholic Church in Ann Arbor, I was informed that this particular church served the local Polish American community, where Masses conducted were during the first week of every month, and social functions such as for Christmas and Easter were catered for. This was very much like the set-up I found in smaller Polonian communities in the UK. This proved to be a tremendous stroke of luck for me, as I was to find out that residing in Ann Arbor, were precisely a fair number of those WWII Poles which I had hoped to come across.

Another consideration was that both bus and rail services were not very frequent, which I was able to find out whilst still in the UK, therefore it was preferable to stay

close to my facilities and support network, and make trips to my interviewees as and when necessary. However, because of the relative distances, I had to plan my excursions very carefully as a trip to Detroit tended to take a whole day, when using public transport such as the Greyhound Buses, or the Amtrak train service. It became evident due to frequent delays, and the unreliable public transport services, that hiring a car was the only way to guarantee reaching a destination at all.

2/ Overseas target area is no longer suitable.

It became evident that I had to adapt my originally planned fieldwork, in order for it to stay true to its original profile and comparable to the UK component of the research. As it transpired, the very large Polish community in Chicago could have also been a suitable context for my research location.

Historically, Hamtramck had been a region which had a vast and thriving Polish Enclave. In the 1950's, Hamtramck had the largest grouping of American Poles (these comprised recent arrivals as well as descendents from earlier migrations) in the US (Sandberg, 1974). However, since the withdrawal of the main industry base (Ford) in the late 60's, Detroit, as a whole, has suffered extreme problems, and the impact was felt very heavily on the local economy, resulting in wide-scale poverty, depression, and all the downwardly spiralling crises associated with economically depleted areas (evinced by the frequent riots), as more and more residents *who were in a position to*, out-migrated to other parts of the country (Wytrwal, 1977; Wrobel, 1975).

The resulting impact on the Polish community (Poletown) meant that this region no longer held the kind of range of respondents which I required for my research design.

If I used Poles from this region only, they would not compare to the UK sample. Many Poles were either descendants from far earlier generations, or recent post-Solidarity arrivals. Much discussion took place between my-self and my supervisors, and as a result, it was decided that since internal migration was an important aspect of American culture (Boyle *et al.*, 1998), it was not inappropriate to 'follow' suitable candidates in search of respondents. Boundaries placed on targeting UK respondents, did not necessarily always apply abroad.

In searching for such individuals, I became aware that a fair number of such people were still linked with their (childhood) parish church, as many had parents who still lived in Hamtramck, and made frequent returns (usually at weekends), to their old home town.

I also became aware of the existence of the Polish National Catholic Church, in addition to the Polish RC Church in America. I decided to pilot two parishes, one from each of these two church organisations. Another interesting feature, for first generation Poles in particular, was that although I was happy to conduct their interviews in Polish, just as I had done with first generation Poles in the UK, several of them (33.3%, 4; n=12) found my willingness rather uncomfortable (whereas I assumed that I was simply accommodating their needs, and that it might assist in the interview process).

These individuals informed me that their own (second-generation) children had insisted that only English was spoken, particularly so in the presence of *their* (third generation) children, as they did not want their 'children to feel that they were different', and also 'did not want to make their non-Polish spouses uncomfortable'

(US 1st Gen nos. 804 & 805/PF & PM). As a result, these first generation Poles felt constrained when using their mother tongue, for fear of upsetting their children.

3/ Language nuances, and piloting 'blind'.

The questionnaire is obviously a crucial part of any piece of qualitative and/or quantitative research. It is erroneous to assume that there are few problems in understanding Americans. The television is flooded with American imports which many of us watch. This may be the case, but language has to be treated very delicately when used as a tool in research.

Generating a Pilot Sample for the US Location.

I received help from the ISR to amend my pilot questionnaire for an American audience. It was crucial that I did this, since I was piloting blind due to time management control, as I had arranged to leave the questionnaires with the priests from the aforementioned two parishes for several weeks. In the meantime, I would save some time, and travel to the two largest depositories of Polonian archived literature and various data, many volumes of which I found to be the only available copies of items, which were specific to my needs³¹.

When I returned to Hamtramck to collect my questionnaires, the return rate differed considerably from one parish to the other. For example, I had left 87 copies with each priest, and received 41 back from the Polish RC American parish, and the priest was very apologetic that there were no more. The Polish National Catholic parish

³¹ These were: *The Polish American Institute of Arts and Sciences*, in New York, and *The Polish Museum of America*, in Chicago.

priest on the other hand, handed me 6, but promised that there were several more to come back to him. This figure materialised as an extra 3, which meant that I had a return rate of 47% for the former, and 10% for the latter.

The differences may be explained with inference to the following facts. One basic tenet of the Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC) is its democratic nature, which is really the antithesis of the Polish RC Church's (PRCC) instruction on deferential duty to all Papal representatives, (i.e. men of the cloth). In fact, the parish priest made it very clear to me that his parishioners would either be interested or not, and it would be purely their choice. This had spiked my curiosity, and I later considered the possibility that this ideological difference might in some way manifest itself within the pilot, and hopefully, any subsequent interviews. As it transpired, this cache of respondents proved to be too small for me to be able to discern any kind of (statistical) patterns.

On the other hand, the Polish RC Church pastor assured me that he would raise the issue of the questionnaires during Mass, and personally request that his parishioners participated in filling them out. In both parishes, churchgoing Poles constituted (dwindling) ageing populations.

From the two batches of returned pilot questionnaires, which had of course been administered blind, I eliminated all those which were irrelevant. I had included as part of my changes to the original UK pilot questionnaire a question to determine ethnic generational specificity, since I was aware that there were many Poles in each parish who did not match the research profile I was seeking. In other words, they were descendents of Poles, and although they may have been the same age as my UK

first (and some of the older second) generation Poles, these individuals in fact had been born in America. Keeping in mind that my total number of first generation respondents was twelve, it is interesting to note that out of the nine PNCC pilot questionnaires, five turned out to be suitable as respondents for the main interview, since they were post-WWII Poles. Two were from the PRCC, and the rest (seven) were from outside Detroit (Ann Arbor, etc.)

The piloting process informed me that there were suitable second generation candidates for my research who no longer lived in Hamtramck, Detroit but still maintained contact with their families, where relevant, and the parish, by continuing to attend Mass on Sundays and on all other Holy days celebrations. The Polonian community in Ann Arbor was also piloted to determine its suitability, and this bore fruit to reveal both first and second generation Poles. Because of time constraints I was unable to locate as many US respondents as I had hoped to. As a result, I chose to select potential respondents from those piloted via the following criteria. Of those who responded to the questionnaires distributed by both churches, and after I had eliminated those who were unsuitable (see above), I was left with 29 questionnaires. Of these fourteen in total were selected as respondents, and this included all the PMO (3) and PFO (2) potential respondents, therefore I opted to keep these. From the remaining 24 potential BPP respondents, 8 were selected in the same way as the UK respondents, with every third being chosen. The rest (19) were selected from outside the Detroit area, either in Ann Arbor or Warren where some had moved to from the Detroit area. These were generated by snowballing, and I selected only those who were prepared to completely answer all questionnaire sets.

In the case of the US sample, I must draw attention to the scope offered by this sample for generalising, given its size and also the extent to which bias may be present as a result of the sampling process.

I began my interviewing, and these interviews were conducted in the respondent's homes, and sometimes for the Hamtramck respondents, on the church premises. The Polonian community in Ann Arbor did not have a church of its own, but had facilities which it shared with the local Roman Catholic church.

I was a participant observer at many of the American Polonian activities, and was able to generate more respondents in this way. I had considered using the American telephone directory to assist in generating more respondents, but decided against this method since I had by then already infiltrated the Polish community and time was also a crucial factor.

I was not really aware of the timing of events until I had returned to the UK, but I had kept a journal/diary whilst in America (Burgess, 1984). I was very pleased to see that by the end of the second week I had already made contact with suitable first generation respondents, and was setting up interviews via my primary US gatekeeper, an ex-committee member of the Ann Arbor Polish American Congress (PAC). The PAC was established in May 1944, as the Polish ethnic community's political voice, working throughout the years for 'the advancement of Americans of Polish origin' (Dolan, 1997: 63).

Qualitative and Quantitative Methods.

Finally in this chapter, I wish to address the usage of quantitative, and qualitative methods, and examine a suitable integration of what are frequently viewed as mutually

exclusive realms of research, namely quantitative and qualitative approaches (Hakim, 1982; Plummer, 1983; Bryman, 1988; Bryman & Burgess, 1994), and discuss how by incorporating data derived using both methods, I am able to demonstrate how they are not only complementary within this study, but in certain ways crucial to accessing vital knowledge, which gives a more realistic picture of what it actually means to be a second generation Pole. I will endeavour to demonstrate within my main discussion chapter (Chapter Four), that just because various cross-tabulations may have indicated that there appeared to be 'no clear pattern of association' mainly as a result of a limited sample size, that my respondents' views should still have some bearing on my explications regarding (their particular experience of) Polishness (Temple, 1994; Zebrowska, 1986).

There is a tendency when discussing the two sets of methods, to polarise them into opposite camps within the research community (Filstead, 1979). Taking for example those who adopt quantitative research methods, it is said (Filmer *et al.*, 1972) that they are 'dedicated' to studying society via a positivistic approach and thus adhere to a specific epistemological position. By so doing therefore, they take the view that 'only research that conforms to the canons of scientific method can be treated as contributing to the stock of knowledge' (Bryman, 1988:104). Filstead (1979), in referring to both types of research as paradigms (T.S.Kuhn, 1970), postulates on their fundamentally different frameworks and therefore inherent incompatibility. Conversely, those adopting the position within the realms of qualitative research of such approaches as 'verstehen' (Weber, 1947), naturalism and phenomenology,

all shun using the technique of the natural scientist. They rely instead on actors' interpretations. The stand that I take on this issue is this (following Bryman, 1988). Qualitative research methods are legitimate as are quantitative, in respect of having their own distinctive epistemological bases, which I regard as complementary rather than contradictory.

The process of research by definition dictates a chronological procedure of data collation in all its various forms, and depending on whether the course of action is to choose a grounded theory approach or some other such as the life history approach (Thompson, 1978, Tonkin, 1992), to employ the use of quantitative or qualitative methods, (or – as in this study - both), this researcher believes that it is necessary to establish one's epistemological position and how this (as personal biography) may in effect influence the final version of the research (Temple, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Hammersley, 1993).

A simple yet effective example of this is how I came about deciding which elements of Polish cultural and religious traditions I would adopt to use as benchmarks for second generation levels of maintenance. Naturally, I used those known to me from my own experiences as a female second generation Pole growing up in London. Temple uses her own frames of reference as a second generation Pole from the north of England, when she carried out research in another part of the country. Yet both of us know, from our knowledge of the development of the greater Polish community in the UK, that many of these formal daily rituals were

the same, and therefore formed a shared frame of reference³². These similarities have positive implications for the scope for generalising from my Midlands-based case study (as broached earlier, p.p. 174-175).

Qualitative methods of research have always been penalised for their 'lack of rigour' (Saillant, 1990:81), and their 'subjectivity' (Bowling, 1991:56). The *detailling* of individual experience, I believe can only be achieved with the use of qualitative data, such as interview excerpts and quotations. The richness and depth of data available via this method is unparalleled and invites the 'outsider'³³ to glimpse into an otherwise inaccessible world and its culture. As Roos says 'autobiographies/life stories are cultural artefacts par excellence ... and will not be lost in an anonymous mass of data (1993: 59)' In this way, we can explore via the various associations and observations made by my respondents, the context (as culturally explained) in which their ideas about their own views regarding their Polishness are placed.

The use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques therefore allow in the first instance, the documentation of any ethnic traditions passed from one generation to the next by identifying patterns and relationships. Whereas qualitative data from interviews allows the articulation of personal dialogue, and therefore the expression of the respondents' self-worth, as either female or male, first and second generation Pole.

³² I would like to thank Bogusia Temple for her insights and help, in aiding me to evaluate the epistemology of my position within my research: as female, as Pole, and as researcher. I am reconciled that I am all three, and that the presence of these characteristics pose no conflict to the production of this knowledge, but conversely aid in the formation of the final product (Temple, 1994a).

³³ The use of 'outsider' here refers to those unfamiliar with Polish culture.

Qualitative ethnographic data in concert with the other two, contextualises the views and experiences of the individual Poles.

Conclusion.

In this chapter I have explained the process of operationalizing my chosen concepts which was undertaken within the context of limited extant data on white minority groups in general, and more specifically Polish immigrants since WWII. This is demonstrated by indicating the range of questions used which were central in identifying any evidence of the core concepts. This process utilises both qualitative quantitative and ethnographic elements to explore the various responses.

I have discussed the suitability of using a case study approach and noted the contingent nature of generalisations based on my two samples, neither of which are truly random in the ways in which they were generated. Because I used a combination of sampling techniques respondents were not all located by snowball sampling, and as a result many of the respondents are unknown to each other. My sampling approach has allowed me to access those individuals from within the Polish community who shun the formal ethnic organisations, and for whom these do not play a part in their daily lives, yet who still see themselves as Poles. For such individuals the formal social structures which are offered by the ethnic community, contrary to what Znaniecka Lopata maintains (1994) are not the way in which *they*, as Poles, choose reflexively to maintain their Polishness.

Because I used ‘non-probability’ (Burgess, 1984) sampling strategies, there is no way of knowing whether I have been able to include all facets of the community

within my research. Furthermore, the contingent nature of my data means that any inferences that are made must be apropos the locations themselves, and not to the general ethnic populations on the UK and US. Yet I believe that my coverage of Poles in the locations is fairly good, and that in many ways (as I discussed earlier p.170 and p.p.184-185) the locations are typical of the broader UK / US population which nationally appears to have developed uniformly (Sword, 1994).

This is followed by a detailed discussion of the development of the research process from identifying respondents for the pilot study, and then to carrying out the interviews for the main fieldwork stages.

I then went on to detail the inherent problems and how they are overcome, with respect to locating samples in two distinctly different settings. Lastly, I discussed the necessity for this research to integrate qualitative and quantitative methods, especially since sub-sections of my respondent base are too small for quantitative analyses which in the absence of qualitative data might be argued to severely limit the inferences that can be made from my findings. Once again I must point out the contextual nature of my data and that the validity of my findings relies on the combination of methods within my analysis, which involves both statistical inferences and grounded theorising.

In the next chapter I present my findings, where the use of quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic techniques are combined to reveal these people's different social realities as first and second generation Poles living in the UK and the USA.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction.

This chapter brings together the resulting research data derived from using the quantitative, qualitative, and ethnographic components of this research. These were utilised together in order to fully examine the issues which were central to this two case study, which looks at (as discussed in Chapter Two) the development of two Polish ethnic communities in different locations, one in the UK and one in the USA. The first component aimed to identify any (statistically) comparable patterns occurring within the two case study sites.

With the second, qualitative component I endeavoured to expand the respondent's responses where either a 'yes' or a 'no' was insufficient in explaining what may have actually been meant by them. This is illustrated throughout this chapter with the use of respondents' comments. The third component contextualises the response, and conveys the setting in which it was given, whilst also explaining the contingent nature of the responses

I have already laid out the main objectives of this study (p.p. 135-136) as well as the resultant core concepts (page 142), however, I wish to reiterate the concepts here since I will be introducing the sections of my questionnaires containing responses, which were germane in identifying evidence relating to these concepts in my two 'target' populations. The main concepts examined were status competition, ethnic discrimination, maintaining cultural traditions, ethnic self

identity, sub-cultural identity, and any relationship between health and ethnicity.

I explain statistical tables where necessary, and it is here that the main discussion of the data combined with the interpretation of my findings takes place. Where relevant, my research findings are compared with extant national statistics. In the case of Polish ethnicity maintenance, the second generation respondents' findings are compared against their parents as well as with each other.

INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH RESULTS.

This chapter introduces a range of demographic findings relating to both the UK and USA samples. These are combined with a general discussion of my findings, including whether the general experiences of these Poles appear to differ, if at all, from the rest of the population, and in some cases other (white) ethnic groups.

Are the Poles (in my sample) any different from non-Poles, and are the cultural traditions of this ethnic group maintained in the same way by the first generation here in the UK, and, the first generation in America? How do my respondents' experiences differ from ethnic minorities discussed in the literature sections?

As the UK sample is the primary group under investigation, it is dealt with in greater detail. As I have already mentioned, the problems with making direct comparisons transculturally in levels of achievement in areas such as education and occupation, and at times health, are to all intents and purposes a stumbling block in that at times, I have had to determine a suitable range for comparing UK and USA material (Burgess, 1986; Bowling, 1991). As a result, at times there were some restrictions in making anything other than basic comparisons when

looking at the US results in this section.

A good example of this is the HALS section of the research instrument. Although I took advantage of asking my Polish American respondents those questions obtained from the *Health And Lifestyles Survey*, there is (currently) no trans-cultural version of this survey which would be adequate for me to use (this whole questionnaire section) in order to make consistent comparisons with their responses and those of my UK respondents. In fact, many other measures are also too dissimilar for straight comparison, such as levels of schooling, and socio-economic groups). As a result, any figures that I might derive from the HALS section would have no real validity for the purposes of direct comparison¹. Some sections are of use in this analysis, and these will be utilised. I will indicate these various elements as I go through the findings. However, the one exception to these limitations is when I am comparing the UK with the US findings with regards to (comparing) the levels of maintained Polish ethnic traditions. These can be compared against each other in full.

I will be looking at my findings for second-generation UK respondents first, and then show the relevant US figures for the same topic under discussion, before moving on to the next set of figures. My findings will be presented in approximately the same order in which the questionnaires collected the data, with my modified *HALS* questionnaire forming the second half of the interviewing process². Therefore to begin with, I will be looking at the data from the education,

¹ I am ever hopeful that in due course a cross cultural instrument utilising HALS will become available, much like the adapted Nottingham Health Profile, 1984.

² For the actual order of questioning, please refer to Appendices A & B of this work.

occupation, and ethnicity sections. Then I shall be addressing my findings regarding respondents' health. As previously introduced, I shall be referring to the three sub-groups in the following manner throughout the remainder of this thesis: 'both parents Polish' (BPP), 'Polish mother only' (PMO), and 'Polish father only' (PFO).

Here is the breakdown of the sum total of respondents used as my sample³.

	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
<u>1) Second Generation UK Poles:</u>			
Both parents Polish (BPP)	36 (4)	30 (4)	66 (8) ^{4§}
Polish mother only (PMO)	9	7	16
Polish father only (PFO)	14	8	<u>22</u> <u>104</u>
<u>2) First Generation UK Poles:</u>			
	10 (2)	12	22 (2) [§]
The mean ages for (all 112) UK respondents were: 39 for females, 39 for males.			
<u>3) Second Generation USA Poles:</u>			
Both parents Polish (BPP)	10	8	18
Polish mother only (PMO)	4	2	6
Polish father only (PFO)	6	3	9
			<u>33</u>
<u>4) First Generation USA Poles:</u>			
	5	7	12

The mean ages for USA respondents were: 37 for females, and 40 for males.

³ For a further breakdown of these figures, the reader is requested to refer back to Chapter Three, where my methodology process is discussed.

^{4§} These eight and two (8, 2) represent those respondents for whom, for various reasons, the interviewing process was never completed (each to varying degrees). For those sections where they are included in the statistical analysis due to a completed questionnaire component, then this is noted.

UK Second Generation Research Findings⁵.

In a few instances I was able to break down my findings and analyse the data further by looking at them in terms of the three sub-groups – those respondents with two Polish parents or with either one or the other parent Polish. However in the main, this was not always possible as it resulted in sub-clusters too small to allow for any statistically significant comparisons. I had been interested in charting general education, occupation and health patterns within each of these sub-groups separately to see whether there might have been any indication for me to infer that any differences may have been as a result of the differing parental composition.

1) Educational Attainment.

Educational attainment figures were one of the sets of questions used to test the concept of ‘status competition’, in order to see whether or not my sample of Poles from both case study sites had achieved higher qualifications than comparable samples of the respective indigenous populations. I am well aware of the pitfalls in trying to ‘fit’ all my respondents’ schooling histories into one question and the same for their secondary school (Burgess, 1986). Because I anticipated that some proportion of my respondents might not have been born in the Coventry area I was concerned that their educational experience might not match that of the rest in such areas as age of transfer from first to second school, as well as their schools having had a different curriculum, (the same differences

⁵ The UK findings are compared primarily with national statistics from the 1991 and 1994 General Household Surveys (GHS); the 1991 UK Census; and (where indicated), other sources. The USA findings are compared against USA 1990 Census data, the 1991 General Social Survey (GSS), and, in the case of health figures, against those from the National Center for Health Statistics, NCHS.

may of course be cited for independent schools). This proved to be the case, as a proportion of my respondents were not born in Coventry (24%, 25; n=99)⁶. There was also a proportion of these who did not go to any British schools until their early teens (2.8%, 5; n=99), because they were still living in Displaced Persons' camps.

I therefore elected to use broad measures of schooling for the UK sample, (and indeed for the USA sample given problems of direct comparability), in the following ways. Firstly, the proportion of respondents who went to a Catholic⁷ school, at both (or either) first and second level, and whether this was taken up any differently by the parents from the three sub-groups.

Secondly, with the UK respondents my interest was in highest school qualification received, that is, 'O' , or 'A' level. (In the case of the US sample, I focused upon whether they had reached the broadly – transculturally equivalent – Senior High School Graduation). The following charts show the respondents' scholastic attainment levels, by sex, at both 'O', (Figure 2); and, 'A' Level, (Figure 2.1). The 1994 GHS report includes figures from earlier years of the survey, ranging from 1975 through to 1994, in many of its sections. I 'manipulated' the education data in the GHS report, in order to construct a comparison group that matched the age range of my UK second generation sample⁸. The age range of my respondents was 25 – 50. The GHS data were aggregated and presented in tables for broad age range sets (16-19; 20-29; 30-39; 40-49, 50-59; and 60-69). Therefore for this set

⁶ This corresponds to respondents who had been resident in Coventry between 11 and 45 years (responses were given in 5 year intervals).

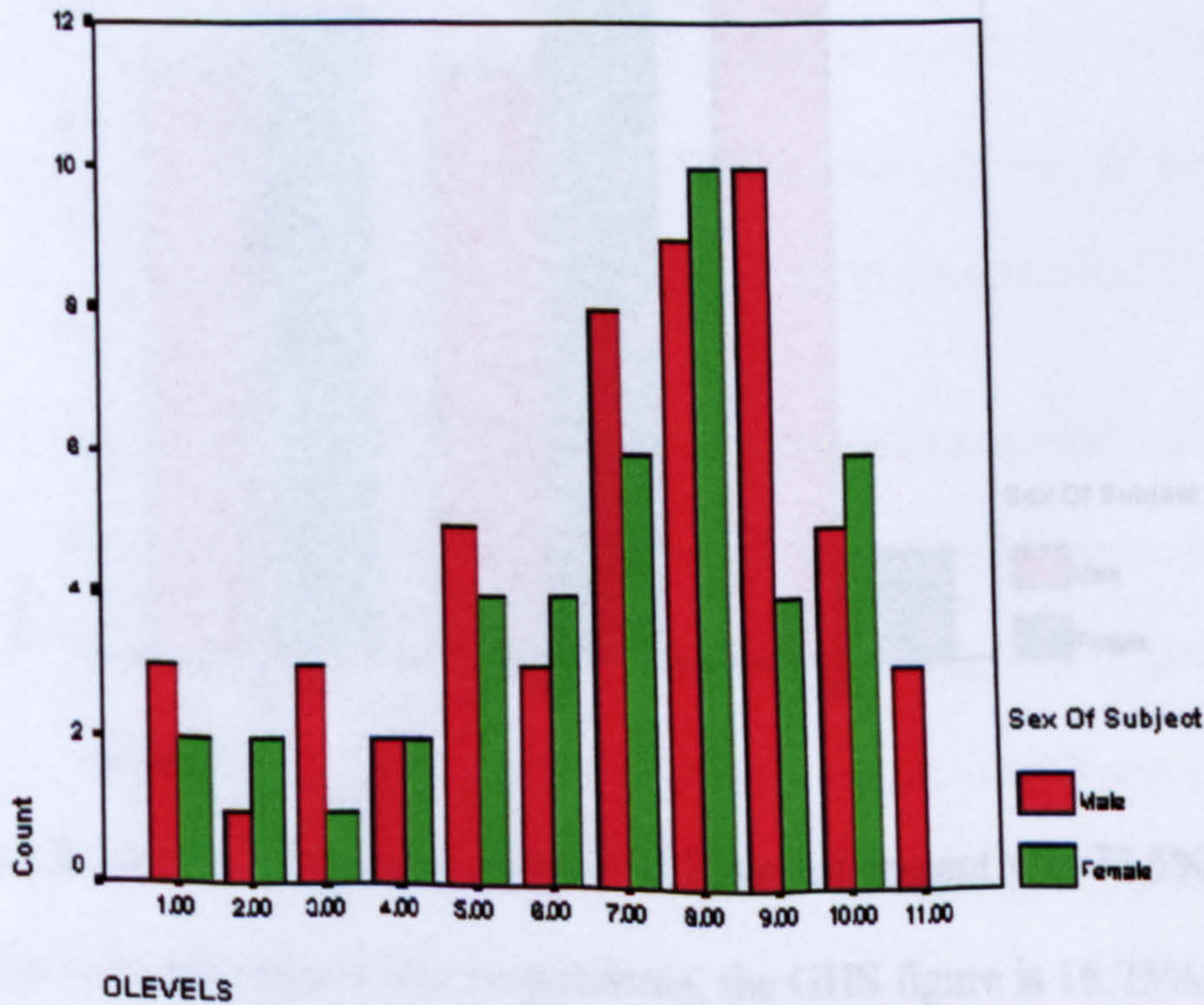
⁷ I will be showing attendance levels at Catholic schools in the section looking at data analysis on Polish ethnicity maintenance (p.p.235-241).

⁸ Table 10.3 p.222 GHS, 1994.

of comparisons, I constructed figures using statistics for age range sets 30-39, and 40-49, as well as a partial (approximately half) section of the age range 20-29 statistic.

Figure 2 shows that the attainment levels of the ‘O’ level qualification for my respondents is not too dissimilar by sex, with 93% (42/45) of my female respondents, and 88% (52/59) of my male respondents getting at least one ‘O’ level each.

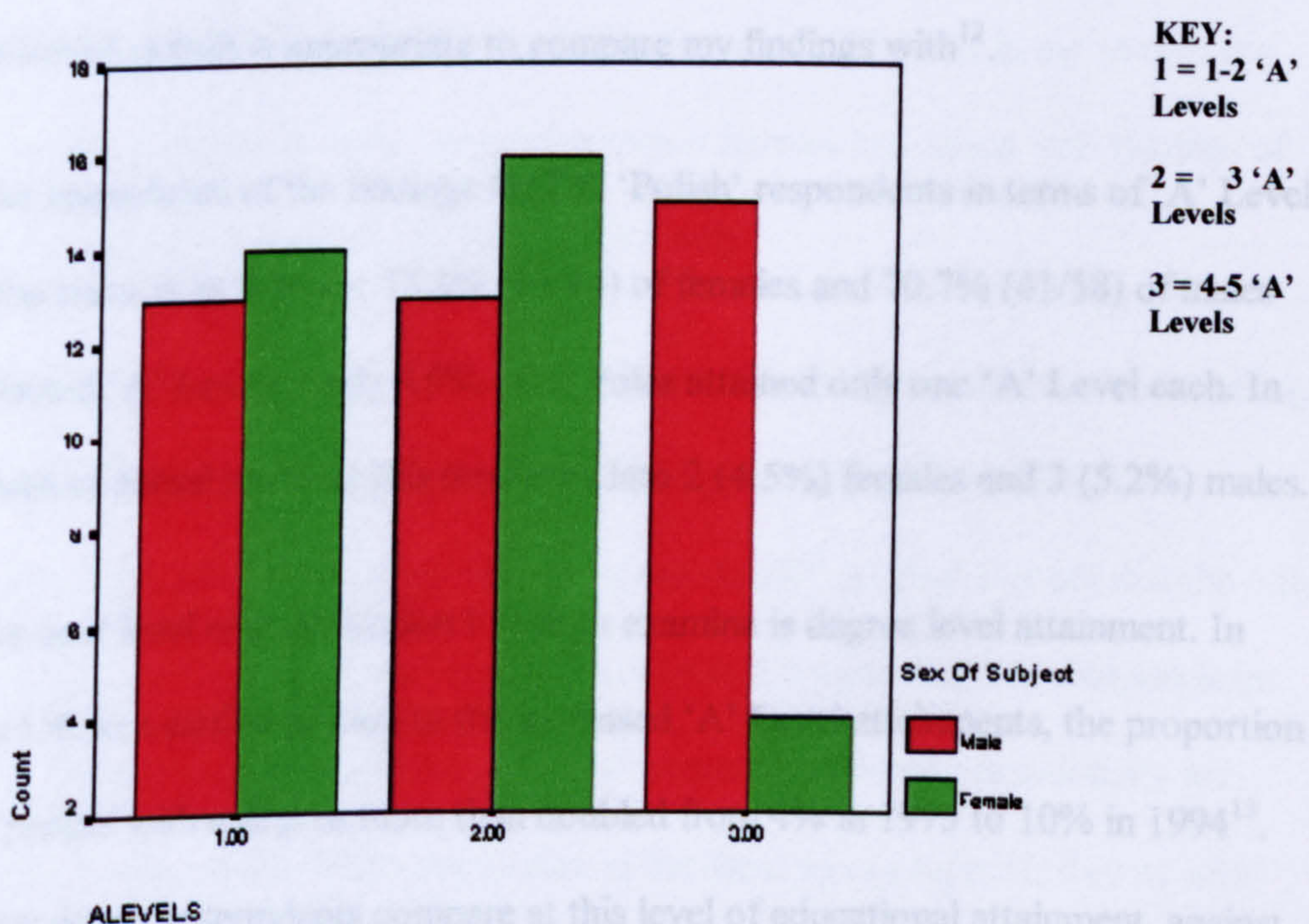
Figure 2 ‘O’ Level Attainment by 2nd Gen Poles –by Respondents’ SEX:



When adjusted to match my respondents’ age range, the 1994 GHS findings for obtaining at least one ‘O’ level were 53.75% for females, and 40.25% for males. Total overall proportions with ‘O’ levels (for this age group) were, 90% for my respondents, and 48% for comparable GHS data.

Figure 2.1 corresponds to a collapsed version of an original variable, which covered responses of up to five 'A' levels. Only three respondents (2.9%) had a total of five 'A' Levels, and these were all males. The *General Household Survey* shows a rise in the proportion of all people reaching 'A' Level from 4% in 1975, to 11% in 1994⁹.

Figure 2.1 UK Polish Respondents: A Level Achievement



My UK sample's figure for overall 'A' Level attainment was 73.5%. For the equivalent age range to my respondents, the GHS figure is 16.75%. Broken down by sex, these official data show the following: 12.75% for females, and 31.5% for males¹⁰.

This particular gap between female and male achievement corresponds to GHS data manipulated to match my respondents' age range of 25 – 50. More

⁹ This is based upon persons aged 16-69 not in full-time education.

¹⁰ Education Tables, table 10.1, p.222 The General Household Survey Report, 1994.

specifically, GHS 'A' level percentages for ages 40-49 are given as 6% for females and 14% for males. Likewise, percentages for ages 30 – 39 are given as 11% and 18% respectively. However, the younger female age groups show less of a difference from males in that same group¹¹. For example, percentages for ages 16-19 are 18% and 22%; and for ages 20-29 are 17% and 12%, for females and males respectively. Therefore, since the relevant age range is weighted more in terms of older females, this in turn is reflected within the final percentage achieved, which is appropriate to compare my findings with¹².

The breakdown of the findings for UK 'Polish' respondents in terms of 'A' Level attainment is as follows: 77.3% (34/44) of females and 70.7% (41/58) of males attained 'A' Levels. Only 4.9% of all Poles attained only one 'A' Level each. In terms of actual numbers this translates into 2 (4.5%) females and 3 (5.2%) males.

The next level of qualification I wish to examine is degree level attainment. In the UK in a similar fashion to the increased 'A' Level attainments, the proportion of people with a degree more than doubled from 4% in 1975 to 10% in 1994¹³. How do my respondents compare at this level of educational attainment, against comparable age groups? The answer to that is, in much the same way as their performance in relation to the previously examined qualifications. My main source of reference has been the 1994 *General Household Survey Report*, and for first degree or equivalent I shall be referring to it presently. However, what are not included are results for higher degree attainment, and for these data I will refer to

¹¹ Education Tables, table 10.1, p.222 The General Household Survey (GHS) Report, 1994.

¹² These same proportional weightings will of course be utilised throughout all such computations.

¹³ GHS 1994 Report, p. 20. This figure is also based on persons aged 16-69, not in full-time education.

the 1991 *General Household Survey* dataset samples¹⁴.

When comparing first degree attainment with equivalent age groups, the following tendencies are apparent. The total proportion with a first degree for persons aged 25 to 50 is 15.25%. For my Polish UK group the figure is 41.3%.

When these figures are disaggregated by sex; we find that this results in the following breakdown: official figures for first level degree attainment were found to be 11.25% for females and 19% for males. Whereas in my sample the percentage remained fairly constant between females and males with findings of 40.0% (18/45) and 42.3% (25/59) respectively.

With regard to ethnic group, the data are very limited if one wishes to look at any such trends in the white minority ethnic groups included in the GHS. I have already discussed these limitations in greater detail¹⁵, suffice it to say that the only white group singled out and therefore available for these kinds of analyses is the Irish. Non-white ethnic minority groups' overall attainment educationally was similar to that of the White population in the same age groups. However, with degree attainment, there were differences between the various non-white groups within the survey sample. For example, Indians were more likely to have degrees than other groups, with a figure of 10% for degree attainment compared to 6% of both the Black and Pakistani / Bangladeshi populations¹⁶.

¹⁴ These figures are based on calculations made using the GHS computer file, which is available from the Data Archive at University of Essex.

¹⁵ Please refer to pages 160-163 for a fuller discussion on the limitations of official statistics with regards to white ethnic minority groups.

¹⁶ GHS Report 1994: P.42, Table 2.38.

In the last section on UK educational attainment, I wish to turn to my findings for my US second generation respondents. The age range of these US respondents was 24-51, and my findings for their scholastic achievements were as follows. I found that the figure for attaining a Senior High School Graduation Certificate was 69.2% (9/13) for my Polish American females and 70.0% (14/20) for my Polish American males. Using as an equivalent the 1991 American GSS¹⁷, the figure for similarly aged females was 22%, and 18% for similarly aged males.

For the purposes of comparison (and in the absence of any other more accurate one), the Senior High School certificate will be deemed as being (broadly) comparable to the UK 'A' Level qualification. They both match in age levels, and also are a pre-requisite for entry to higher education, (in the USA a generic term is used to signify a range of post school level academic facilities, which is known as 'college').

I shall be further discussing the responses regarding academic attainment, as well as occupational positioning which was also utilised to test the concept of status competition, after I next present my findings on second generation Poles' occupations and social mobility. This discussion will tie in with the extant literature regarding Poles and the absolute importance, as well as, the ramifications of, status competition.

¹⁷ The General Social Surveys (GSS) have been conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (University of Chicago), in the main every year since 1972. They were designed to be part of a program of social indicator research, in order to facilitate time-trend studies, gathering similar information about households as those of the GHS, but being smaller in size (2x1,500 samples).

UK Second Generation Poles' Occupations.

Under this heading, I will be using the first generations' occupations to 'look' at the second generation's location with respect to the same class schema, in order to examine the notion that first generation male respondents' pre-war (proposed) professions had an impact on goal determination¹⁸ for the offspring, namely the second generation (male) respondents¹⁹. This would seem to be the case if upward mobility was found (to be) over a longer distance than expected: for example, more than just (some) movement between classes I and II, or IV and V, where the difference is deemed to be 'one of degree' (Breen *et al.*, 1995: 72). I will be looking at the three sub-samples as a whole, rather than as separate parts, and shall theorise upon any differences in education and occupation in the context of a distinct white minority group compared with the population at large.

In the next section, I wish to outline my findings for second generation occupations, by sex, and then move on to second generation social class as compared with (first generation) father's social class. Unless otherwise stated, all tables and ensuing discussions will utilise Registrar General's Social Classes I - V (including III_{nm} and III_m). As I mentioned in Chapter Three (p.147), this classification proved to be of most use for comparing my completed data with a wide variety of relevant official statistics that have been compiled using (amongst others) this format (Marsh, 1986). Because of the relatively small numbers in my sample, I have at times seen fit to collapse certain variables by

¹⁸ Kohn & Slomczynski (1990: 236) hypothesise that 'the effects of social structure on job conditions, and of job conditions on *parental* values, would extend inter-generationally to offspring's values'.

¹⁹ This might be taken in the form of the placing of a high value on status competition - by the parent - and be manifested in the form of educational achievement - by the offspring. Both of these issues are taken up by me later when I discuss my findings more fully.

combining certain categories (classes). I will indicate whether this has been the case as I introduce each new analysis.

First of all I would like to illustrate what proportions of my working UK male and female respondents (99/104) are located in which social class (Table 2).

There is very strong evidence of a relationship between class and sex ($P=0.001$ for the Pearson chi-square statistic). What is immediately apparent here, is that 54.5% of all Polish UK respondents within the sample are to be found in Social Classes I and II (21.2% and 33.3% respectively). When this is compared against national statistics (for the same age group) the results are as follows.

Table 2 UK Second Generation Poles, all working respondents:

RGSC (I - V)	Male	Female	Total
I	16 28.1%	5 11.9%	21 21.2%
II	12 21.1%	21 50.0%	33 33.3%
III_{nm}	5 8.8%	9 21.4%	14 14.1%
III_m	14 24.6%	1 2.4%	15 15.2%
IV	9 15.8%	6 14.3%	15 15.2%
V	1 1.8%	0	1 1.0%
Total	57 100 %	42 100 %	99 100 %

$P=0.001$ for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 5 degrees of freedom
(value = 20.422)

The 1991 Census²⁰ (Table 2.1) indicates the overall comparable figure, including both males and females for Social Classes I and II was 37.8% (5.2% and 32.6% respectively).

²⁰ These data were taken from 1991 Census: Economic Activity in Great Britain, OPCS, 1994 p.p.503-523.

When looking at the same age group, but at 1991 GHS²¹ data (Table 2.2), the resulting total percentage for males and females is even smaller. In this case 27.1%, with 4.6% being the figure for social class I, and 22.5% the figure for social class II.

There will of course be some variation between my figures and those from these official data-sets, as the latter will be to some extent necessarily 'rough' points of comparison, in the sense that I have needed to adjust them to match my own sample. However, some further caution is still advisable, as these data should be treated as simply a 'snapshot' of the period for which they were derived (such as the decennial Census), and official statistics are formulated in many differing ways, since they serve (specifically) differing purposes (Glaser, 1982; Marsh, 1986; Purcell, 1986). This in turn is evidenced by a review of social classifications, which raised the existing problems of 'anomalies and datedness in the existing (social) classifications'²².

Table 2.1 (derived from 1991 Census)

RGSC	Male ^a	Female ^b	Total ^c
I	8.00	1.90	5.18
II	33.96	31.00	32.60
III _n	9.01	36.30	21.80
III _m	32.25	6.40	20.08
IV	12.72	17.00	14.74
V	4.06	7.40	5.60
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 2.2 (derived from 1991 GHS)

RGSC	Male ^a	Female ^b	Total ^c
I	7.26	2.06	4.63
II	22.85	22.10	22.48
III _n	13.83	39.93	27.03
III _m	33.52	8.09	20.65
IV	16.26	20.59	18.45
V	6.28	7.23	6.76
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

KEY:

a percentage of males in each social class

b percentage of females in each social class

c total percentages, showing both males and females' location within these social classes.

²¹ As I go on to say, the GHS and Census figures are calculated in different ways, and this in part accounts for the difference between these two sets of figures.

²² Paragraph 9.3 p11, ESRC Review of OPCS Social Classification, Phase 1 Report, Rose, D. (ed.) OPCS 1995.

By using both of these sources of data, I am attempting to compensate for the drawbacks which each is known to have. The Census is a (decennially) self administered form, which relies on individuals to classify themselves, as well as members of their households. They are both of course nationwide. The GHS is carried out on a continuous weekly basis, interviewing all adult members in each of the 15,000 households surveyed throughout the year.

This notwithstanding, there are broadly very similar patterns regarding location within these social classes, as well as in the gendered distribution, in both the 1991 Census (Table 2.1) and the 1991 GHS (Table 2.2).

There is no reason to assume other than that these proportions on the whole reflect the existing status quo in terms of distribution. This is widely underpinned by current literature on social mobility, as well as Goldthorpe's (now classic) model of 'constant' or unaltered social fluidity over time²³, where patterns of unequal mobility chances between social classes remain much the same from one cohort to the next (Marshall, 1990; Reid, 1989; Breen & Rottman, 1995).

Evidence of Social Mobility.

I would now like to move on to occupational mobility, where I shall shortly illustrate why, I believe, that the data from my sample appear to uphold one of my theories, regarding the influence of a Polish presence, primarily the father, on educational and occupational achievement, (which would indicate some evidence of status competition). To be in line with the literature on Polish émigré

²³ In fact, Goldthorpe showed that regardless of the post-war reforms such as the welfare state, those working class (men) with access to these presumed benefits, had no greater chance of upward mobility in relative terms, than those born in the Great Depression (1920's), with intergenerational class mobility for men continuing to remain so to (his) then present day (1987).

communities, which maintains that in keeping with their culture, Poles both in the UK (Sword, 1996; Braitto, 1988) and the USA (Znaniacka Lopata, 1975, 1994; Erdmans, 1998) have always placed a great value on high career achievement; I need to show some evidence of this in my research. This evidence manifested itself in a way that I was not expecting. In the last section I have shown the higher rates of educational attainment at a range of levels made by the Poles in my sample, and I now turn to their levels of occupational mobility.

First of all, I wish to place the fathers of second generation respondents and /or first generation male UK respondents within the context of their (actual, and very broadly equivalent) Polish socio-economic groups, which were not recognised by the British government when they became part of the UK workforce (Sword, 1989)²⁴. Broadly speaking, the various ‘proposed’ occupations which the first generation Poles in my sample were to have had, had WWII not broken out and Poland lost its independence, were located in the social classes shown below.

In the figures that follow (Tables 2.3, and 2.4, p.204), I have categorized these occupations as ‘proposed’ because of course some professions never actually either materialised, or remained so in the long-term, for my respondents.

However, because of the wide range of ages of first generation Poles in general and more specifically my sample of first generation Poles, (and second generations’ parents), it is prudent to point out that the above consisted of individuals who were still at college, University, as well as many who were already in their full-time chosen career or employment, when WWII broke out.

²⁴ For a more detailed account of this topic, please refer to Sword, 1988, 1989.

Additionally, the following figures show first generation fathers’ (main full-time) occupation before retirement, and not those at point of entry to the UK. As I have previously explained, labour restrictions imposed on the Poles dictated that they were essentially (over) represented in the three main industries of textiles, agriculture, and coal mining. As such, using these as ‘fathers’ occupations’ would be erroneous as points of comparison to say the least, and comparisons could therefore not be made against their UK male peers, who at least had the relative opportunity to (allow market forces to freely) determine their choice of occupation (Sword, 1989)²⁵.

Table 2.3 First generation Fathers’ UK occupations

1 st Gen Fathers’ UK Occupation		
Social class	Frequency	%
I	14	14.6
II	25	26.1
III _n	3	3.1
III _m	39	40.6
IV	12	12.5
V	3	3.1
	96 ^a	100.0

Table 2.4 ‘Proposed’ Pre-war Polish occupations

1 st Gen Fathers’ (proposed) Occupation		
Social class	Frequency	%
I	31	36.8
II	21	25.0
III _n	3	3.6
III _m	5	6.0
IV	20	23.8
V	2	2.4
F/T Educ	2	2.4
Missing ^b	12	-----
Total	96	100.00

KEY:

- a** This figure corresponds to fathers from the two sub-samples ‘both parents Polish’ and ‘Polish fathers only’, as respondents’ fathers who fall within the third category of ‘Polish mother only’ are naturally omitted from this exercise as they are non-Polish fathers.
- b** This figure corresponds to those respondents from within the two relevant sub-samples, who had either no knowledge, or were unsure of, father’s previous (proposed) occupation.

²⁵ I am aware of course that job expectations and opportunities change over the life-course. However, this is the position I have taken, as I believe in this particular instance, there is no clear way of reconciling these occupational inconsistencies.

It can immediately be seen that there are quite large disparities between the pre-war occupational expectations and those occupations that were realised here in the UK, particularly with respect to Social Classes I, II, III_m, and IV. Any analysis therefore of presumed intergenerational social mobility must be viewed from the position that these males were in positions of disadvantage in the labour market, and were vying for jobs from a substantially weakened position. I will discuss this aspect of disadvantaged occupational location in the next section.

I also need to point out that I had to collapse the six Registrar General's Social Classes used above into three broader categories, in order to construct a less thinly spread base for comparison. This means that I converted the relevant variables in the following way: Social Classes I and II are combined and in the following tables are seen as Social Class 1; III_{nm} and III_m combine to become 2; and, classes IV and V combine to become social class 3. This collapsed version will be used throughout this discussion on occupational mobility, and my (official) point of comparison, unless otherwise stated, will be the 1991 *General Household Survey*.

Table 3, and Table 3.1 (p.206) represent collapsed versions of Table 2 (p.200), and Tables 2.1 and 2.2 (p.201) respectively. They show the (modified) occupational locations of my UK male and female respondents.

In this collapsed format, the differences between figures at the top end of the table (Class 1) is more pronounced for both my male and female respondents. By making straight- forward comparisons between these two samples, it appears that when compared with a comparable age group of the population at large (Table

3.1), my sample of second generation UK Poles seem to be better occupationally placed. But this does not really tell us the complete story, so by breaking down both samples by father’s occupation, I am better placed to explain these apparent differences, as well as situate them more realistically in relative terms – inter-generationally.

Table 3 UK Poles: occupation/sex

Class	Male	Female	Total
1	28 49.1%	26 61.9%	54 54.5%
2	19 33.3%	10 23.8%	29 29.3%
3	10 17.5%	6 14.3%	16 16.2%
Ttl	57 100.0%	42 100.0%	99 100.0%

Table 3.1 1991 GHS equivalent sample

Class	Male	Female	Total
1	1265 30.1%	1040 24.2%	2305 27.1%
2	1989 47.3%	2066 48.0%	4055 47.7%5
3	947 22.5%	1197 27.8%	2144 25.2%
Total	4201 100.0%	4303 100.0%	8504 100.0%

Before I continue, I wish at this point to briefly re-examine these figures in a different manner. When I looked at the ‘occupational attainment’ of my second generation UK Poles, these figures suggested that the Poles do better than one would expect based on the broader population. Whilst doing these analyses, it occurred to me that my social mobility ‘approach’ was not altogether suited to my sample. Given the theoretical position of their (Polish) fathers’ location within the British labour market, I thought that I should perhaps examine where my second generation respondents actually ‘ended up’ - in terms of occupational attainment, rather than look at their (relative) occupational positions, as compared with their fathers’ occupations (effectively classical social mobility). Therefore the following tables (Table 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4) are an amalgamation of Tables 3.6, and 3.7 (shown later), where I have incorporated both my Polish

sample and GHS data in this cross-tabulation to look at occupational attainment, rather than social mobility, which I believe conveys a clearer picture of the position of these Poles' occupational achievements.

In Table3.2, the figures are for all respondents, both male and female. The appropriate test statistic for a 2x2 table is the Continuity Correction Chi-square, so all these tables (3.2-3.4) will therefore have 1 degree of freedom.

As the figures show, achieving a Class I or II occupation is more common for my respondents than it is for GHS respondents, once one has accounted for father's class. As a result, the figures show that 71.7% of Poles with Class I or II fathers end up in Class I or II, as compared with 40.7% of GHS respondents.

Table 3.2 All Respondents: showing overall occupational attainment

	Respondent in Class I - II	Respondent in Class III - V
POLES: Father in class I - II	33 71.7%	13 28.3%
GHS: Father in class I - II	1040 40.7%	1515 59.3%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 16.7;
p=0.00004.

POLES: Father in class III - V	21 39.6%	32 60.4%
GHS: Father in class III - V	1193 21.3%	4420 78.7%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 9.46; p=0.00210

Table 3.3 (page 208) shows the differential between Polish males and the equivalent figures for GHS males. The Polish/GHS differentials fall short of significance for men.

Table 3.3 All Male Respondents

	Respondent in Class I - II	Respondent in Class III - V
POLES: Father in class I - II	16 64.0%	9 36.0%
GHS: Father in class I - II	581 45.5%	695 54.5%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 2.66;
p=0.10258

POLES: Father in class III - V	12 37.5%	20 62.5%
GHS: Father in class III - V	649 23.4%	2122 76.6%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 2.74; p=0.09773

Table 3.4 shows the differential for Polish females and the equivalent figure for GHS females. We can see that just as in the overall figures (Table 3.2, p. 207), the Polish/GHS differentials, are statistically significant for women.

Table 3.4 All Female Respondents

	Respondent in Class I - II	Respondent in Class III - V
POLES: Father in class I - II	17 81.0%	4 19.0%
GHS: Father in class I - II	459 35.9%	820 64.1%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 16.19;
p=0.0006

POLES: Father in class III - V	9 42.9%	12 57.1%
GHS: Father in class III - V	544 19.1%	2298 80.9%

Chi-square with Continuity Correction is 6.07; p=0.01368

Table 3.5 shows the results of a statistical significance test for female mobility patterns (shown later in Tables 3.6 and 3.7) where it appeared that Polish females achieved greater mobility than comparative female GHS respondents. I found however, that the mobility patterns for female Poles and female GHS respondents do not appear to differ, significantly. Nevertheless, when one considers ‘downward’, ‘no’, and ‘upward’ mobility as a ‘ordinal’ variable and examines the (Linear-by-Linear) chi-square variant, statistical significance is not that far off.

Table 3.5 All Female Respondents: testing for statistical significance, in mobility patterns.

	2 nd Generation Polish Females Sample	1991 GHS Comparative Female Sample
Downward Mobility:	8 19.0%	1426 34.6%
No Mobility:	23 54.8%	1795 43.6%
Upwards Mobility:	11 26.2%	900 21.8%

Pearson chi-square statistic P=0.10670, d.f. 2 (value = 4.48)
Linear-by-Linear Association P=0.08283, d.f. 1 (value = 3.01)

By looking at my data in this way, I have shown what I believe to be a more realistic picture of where, occupationally, my second generation UK respondents are located. If anything, this method statistically underpins the overall achievement for both male and female Polish respondents looked at via a ‘social mobility’ approach. Although the difference for Polish males do fall short of statistical significance, patterns do however ‘point in the right direction’. In overall terms therefore, when recognition is given to the fact that the first generation suffered déclassment as a result of the Polish Diaspora, these second

generation levels of attainment for females and (less so for) males, really are quite laudable.

Returning then to a social mobility analysis, Table 3.6 clearly shows that for my group, the following has occurred. In the case of male respondents, 44% (25/57) have acquired the same social class as their father, with 24% (14) showing downward mobility, and 32% (18) showing upward mobility compared to fathers' social class. There does not appear to be any markedly greater rate of upward mobility for my UK male sample when compared to their counterparts in Table 3.7. The figures for this comparative group are as follows: 46% have the same social class as their fathers, 28% being downwardly mobile, and 26% (of

Table 3.6 Second generation Polish respondents' social class by father's social class, controlling for sex

RESPONDENT'S SOCIAL CLASS				
<u>MALES</u>	s/c 1	s/c 2	s/c 3	Total
Father's social class 1	16 57.1%	6 31.6%	3 30.0%	25 43.9%
Father's social class 2	10 35.7%	7 36.8%	5 50.0%	22 38.6%
Father's social class 3	2 7.1%	6 31.6%	2 20.0%	10 17.5%
Totals 100.0%	28	19	10	57
<u>FEMALES</u>	17 65.4%	3 30.0%	1 16.7%	21 50.0%
Father's social class 1	6 23.1%	5 50.0%	4 66.7%	15 35.7%
Father's social class 2	3 11.5%	2 20.0%	1 16.7%	6 14.3%
Father's social class 3	26	10	6	42
Total				

males) being upwardly mobile. Once again, given that my sample size is quite small, these really only are small degrees of difference.

The figures regarding women's occupations which I uncovered during this form of analysis, make very interesting reading. First of all, the extent to which father's class is maintained is **55% (23/42)** for the females in my sample, and **44%** for the GHS sample. The other two figures are: **26% (11/42)** of females appear to be **upwardly mobile** when compared to their father's occupations, with **22%** being the figure for the equivalent group from the GHS. The third figure is of course for **downward mobility**, where my sample has generated a figure of **19% (8/42)**, and the GHS female equivalent sample produces a figure of

Table 3.7 Comparison sample from 1991 GHS , matched for age: respondents' social class by fathers social class, and controlling for sex.

RESPONDENT'S SOCIAL CLASS				
MALES	s/c 1	s/c 2	s/c 3	Total
Father's social class 1	581 47.2%	507 26.5%	188 20.8%	1276 31.5%
Father's social class 2	533 43.3%	1018 53.2%	443 49.1%	1994 49.3%
Father's social class 3	116 9.4%	389 20.3%	272 30.1%	777 19.2%
Totals 100.0%	1230	1914	903	4047
FEMALES				
Father's social class 1	459 45.8%	584 29.5%	236 20.7%	1279 31.0%
Father's social class 2	441 44.0%	1040 52.5%	606 53.5%	2087 50.6%
Father's social class 3	103 10.3%	356 18.0%	296 26.0%	755 18.3%
Totals 100.0%	1003	1980	1138	4121

35%²⁶.

I am of course constantly aware of several issues with regards to these figures.

One naturally is the sample size. The other is that it is of course very difficult to theorise about 'pure' mobility for women given that structurally the labour market limits their choices on the basis of motherhood, and that their occupations are partially dictated by outside forces in combination with specific stages in their lives (Webb, 1990; Heath & Britten, 1984; Abbott, 1987)²⁷. These two points notwithstanding, it is very difficult to ignore the range of differentials at every level of movement. My sample of Polish females appear to be better off in every respect when compared against the extant data, but substantially so in the incidence of downward mobility²⁸, where the comparison data give a figure almost twice that of my sample²⁹.

Finally on the general subject on occupational mobility, I wish to add the following figures relating to these respondents' siblings' occupations. As can be seen from my questionnaire (Appendix A, PE/R 3, Q.11), I recorded my

²⁶ The differences between these percentages are not statistically significant, but the pattern is close to being significant (see p.209; Table 3.5).

²⁷ I must point out here the labour market context within which these figures are located. Recent studies have indicated that it is *not* inevitable that working mothers might expect to earn less than childless women, as a result of structural disadvantages due to expectations linked to their caring responsibilities. For example, a recent study carried out at the LSE which looked at the gap in pay structures between men and women in seven industrialised countries, found that not only are working mothers paid *less* in part-time (and low-paid) jobs in Britain and *less* than in any of the other 7 countries; but, that this gap is also apparent for female workers in full-time jobs. For further details on these results, LSE gives the following website: sticerd.lse.ac.uk/Case. Cited in 'The Times', p.4, 6th December 1999.

²⁸ The linear association was not 'far off' from this being statistically significant (see p.209; Table 3.5, P=0.08283).

²⁹ I was interested in seeing whether these positions were maintained if I was to take into account the additional 8 BPP respondents. The outcome was interesting in that the levels of mobility *were* maintained, with Polish males' overall chances of occupational mobility remaining the same, but the Polish females' chances of upward mobility were slightly increased (from 26% to 31%).

respondents' siblings' occupations, as I felt that at a later stage I might wish to aggregate these figures to expand my pool of second generation Poles' occupations. I collapsed this aggregate to conform with the collapsed schema previously used to show social class as three groups, as opposed to the usual six within the Registrar General's Social Class schema. Here is the result of that exercise:

Table 3.8: Second Generations' Siblings' Occupations

Social Class	Male Siblings	Female Siblings
1	44 58%	40 59%
2	16 21%	10 15%
3	16 21%	18 26%
Totals	76 100%	68 100%

Table 3.8 shows second generation respondents' siblings' occupations, using RGSC schema collapsed from 6 to 3 social classes as in Table 3 (p.206). As one can see, 58.5% of all siblings are also to be found in Social Class 1.

I believe that the higher educational achievement for both male and female Poles in my sample compared to their peers; as well as the limited downward mobility in Polish females and the high figure for female upward mobility; as well as the relatively high proportion of respondents' siblings' occupation in Social Class 1, all point towards the influence of the (Polish) parent's view of education as a route to maintaining status. I will shortly be introducing my qualitative findings (page 218) which also bear out the idea visible in literature of the importance of

educational and occupational achievement to maintaining status.

Using mobility analyses, I have demonstrated that it appears that second generation males show lower mobility than their female Polish counterparts.

However, when one takes into account the relative structural position of their first generation Polish fathers within the labour market, such straightforward (social mobility) comparisons yield results which do not convey the whole picture. I have consequently adopted an alternative way of analysing my data, which takes this into account³⁰.

In this vein therefore, I maintain my position about the truth of my hypothesis, and further maintain that the upward mobility of Polish males is actually more marked than it appears, when one looks at the level of occupational achievement which is not only on par with the (age equivalent) GHS sample for males (Table 3.3), but also rather better for fathers in Social Classes I and II. One additional factor needs to be mentioned at this point. I have already talked about my sample being an adequately representative one, based on my attempt to recruit respondents from throughout the Polish community, and as such, I do not believe that I have over-sampled Poles with high occupational status³¹, (which might also result in similarly high overall occupational attainment levels). Furthermore, there is no reason why the Poles in the Coventry community should be particularly high status compared to Britain as a whole (to which the GHS also corresponds).

³⁰ I am of course referring to my 'occupational attainment' approach, pages 206-210.

³¹ This also applies to my educational findings, where my respondents fared better than the comparative samples from GHS.

In conclusion, I believe that the correct way to ‘track’ any levels of occupational mobility in such groups in general, is to start in the first instance by looking at where they actually ‘ended up’ in relation to their parents’ structurally disadvantaged location.

US Second Generation Poles’ Occupations.

Before I present my discussion on the presence of status competition and how this is seen to be manifested within the lives of my UK and US respondents, I wish to briefly turn to the occupational findings for my second generation US sample. I have mentioned already the inherent problems with cross-cultural comparability when trying to match UK and US occupations. Therefore I have used the 1991 US General Social Survey (GSS), which like its UK equivalent the *General Household Survey*, uses a standardised occupational schema. The GSS occupational categories used are:

- 1 Managerial and Professional Speciality
- 2 Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support
- 3 Service
- 4 Farming, Forest, and Fishing
- 5 Precision Production, Craft, and Repair
- 6 Operation, Fabrication, and General Labour

It can be seen from the above six categories that they really only *broadly* equate with the RGSC measure which I have used elsewhere in this research. Once again the absence of a suitable measure this causes some problems with making direct comparisons between UK and US data (Burgess, 1986; Bowling, 1991; Stanfield II and Dennis, 1993). For example, the GSS no.2 category might be used for the allocation of someone who with an equivalent job when placed in the RGSC schema might be allocated to IIIIn. Therefore I have attempted to ‘fit’ my US second generation respondents to the above nationally specific US occupational

schema.

Table 3.9 shows the occupational positions of my US second generation respondents, matched against an equivalent 1991 GSS sample of males and females (aged 24-51). It includes all working respondents (32/33). It is evident that the overall size for my Polish sample is very small, and therefore inappropriate for further disaggregation.

Table 3.9 Second generation US Polish respondents' occupations, matched for age, with comparison sample from 1991 GSS, controlling for sex.

OCCUP Category	2 nd Gen US sample ^a		1991 GSS US sample ^b	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	3 15.8%	0	100 26.7%	128 27.8%
2	10 52.5%	8 61.5%	76 20.3%	189 41.0%
3	1 5.3%	3 21.3%	30 8.0%	83 18.0%
4	3 15.8%	1 7.7%	13 3.5%	5 1.1%
5	1 5.3%	1 7.7%	81 21.6%	14 3.0%
6	1 5.3%	0	75 20.0%	42 9.1%
Total	19 100%	13 100%	375 100%	461 100%

^a P=0.422 for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 5 degrees of freedom (value = 0.382)

^b P=0.000 for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 5 degrees of freedom (value = 129.117)

However, the figures broadly suggest that for this sample, the bulk of second generation Polish American males and females appear to be congregated towards the higher end of the (US) occupational schema, in classes 1 and 2. This is a similar pattern to the positions occupied by my UK second generation respondents, where the proportion of Poles is higher in classes I and II, when combined, than in the comparable samples. The numbers are of course small and

such a difference is only visible in the case of my male US respondents, so this is a speculative observation. I will be discussing the structural mechanisms which facilitated these higher occupational achievements of (my) second generation Polish respondents (both UK and US), under my discussion on the historical persistence of status competition in American Polish community life (pages 225 – 232), as well as its presence in the UK Polonian social structure.

Table 4 Overall UK and US 2nd Gen responses, regarding importance of education to their parents

Importance of Education:	UK overall	US overall
Extremely Important:	58 51.8%	16 48.5%
Important:	37 33.0%	16 48.5%
Not very Important:	17 15.2%	1 3.0%
Not Imp At All:	0	0
Indifferent:	0	0
<u>Totals:</u>	112 100.0%	33 100.0%

Table 4 shows just how important education was for UK and US respondents' parents. For neither sample were any responses recorded for the two bottom categories of 'Not important at all', and 'Indifferent'. For the top category of 'Extremely important', the proportions of UK and US responses are quite similar, with the UK recording a figure of 51.8% (58; n=112), and the US responses being 48.5% (16; n=33) for the same category. The two top categories ('Extremely important' and 'Important') combined showed the following: across all sub-groups, the total were almost 85% and 97% for US UK respondents respectively.

Status Competition: A Discussion of my Findings.

Here I shall now bring together all those elements of my research in relation to my trying to identify the presence of status competition in my two case study samples of second generation Poles. This analysis will draw on my quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic findings (as will all the others within this chapter).

These last set of figures (Table 4, page 217) for the question concerning the importance of educational achievement for first generation parents are overwhelmingly indicative of parental interest (and at times what was felt to be coercion), in matters of always doing well at school. Here are some of my respondents' comments on the importance of them continually excelling for their parents.

"Our parents always used to go on at us to get our schoolwork done, and you know, when you're a kid it sorta irritates you. But it was always in the back of my head - *You know you can do better!* I think that that's one of the reasons behind me going back to college and bettering myself. I'm glad my parents went on at us, it paid off. I'm much happier now. I'm very proud of myself."

US 2nd Gen No.509/BPP/F

A male BPP respondent stated:

"I was really pushed at school. I was expected to beat the other Polish kids at school. We were always in some sort of competition. My dad would go through all my homework with me to make sure that it was correct. He didn't want me going in with any mistakes."

UK 2nd Gen No.34/BPP/M

Whilst another said:

"My English friends didn't understand, well, I didn't either at the time, why my parents got me all these private tutors and they weren't cheap either, but they saved all their money. I had to study all through the summer holidays when I was at school"

UK 2nd Gen No.55/BPP/M

A fair number of respondents made reference to their parents' treatment as Poles, being, they thought, the reason that they were pushed to do well. Racism may have prompted the desire to do better. Here are some of these kinds of comments, in relation to educational achievement.

"My dad was always saying how hard it had been for him. I was told to do better than the English, as well as other Polish kids. We had to show them."

UK 2nd Gen No.213/PFO/M

Another, a female PMO respondent remembered:

"I was always very close to mum. And she used to confide in me. When I think of it now, I don't know how I would have coped. Life was very hard for her. She used to say, - You *must* do well at school. Work hard and save. It's the only way to look after yourself when I'm gone. You'll get no help from anyone in this country."

UK 2nd Gen No.113/PMO/F

There was also at times some rancour, particularly among both UK and US male second generation respondents, with the (at times immense) stress that they felt in trying to achieve academically. Similarly both Znaniecka Lopata (1976) and Braitto (1988) have claimed that the pressure to succeed was greater for Polish immigrants than for other ethnic groups. Evidence of this was borne out in my research.

Some respondents confided the following attitudes that they had developed, as a result of what they saw as coercion:

"My dad was always going on about how I had to do better, an' work harder. Not just with because of being Polish and different. But also doing better than the other Polish kids. I was an only child and they put all their hopes in me. I wouldn't do that to my kids if I had any. I drive a bus now. That pretty much put an end to their dreams - I'm glad to say."

US 2nd Gen No.514/BPP/M

Yet another said:

“I never finished High School. I always felt that I could never do as well as my brothers. They've all done better than me. It's this Polish thing my mother used to go on about, having to do well. That's what held *me* back. I think it got to me in the end. Really stressed me out.”

US 2nd Gen No.605/PMO/M

This last quotation was made by an American PMO respondent, and his comments are a good example of my use of the third ethnographic component which contextualises the various responses when analysing my research data (see page 188). For example on the surface his responses appear straightforward, in that his profile as a second generation respondent conveys someone who overall has very little interest in maintaining any elements of his ethnic identity, with assimilation into the host culture appearing complete by the second generation (Patterson, 1977).

Further probing however, revealed that this respondent and his choices regarding maintainment of Polish ethnic customs, be they religious or otherwise, are also a good example of Water's (1990) notion of *symbolic ethnicity* (which I talk about further on in this chapter, p.p.284-288) where individuals for one reason or another, effectively select certain elements of their ethnicity to maintain. He sees himself primarily as an 'American', but enjoys frequenting the Polish social club where he mixes with other American Poles. He speaks no Polish having had no Polish parochial schooling. Although he does not eat Polish foods nowadays, he believes maintaining ethnic food habits to be important. In addition to these factors, as a family member this respondent did not celebrate any of the major Polish religious calendar events during childhood (except for Christmas, Easter and the regular consumption of Polish foods), and he continues not to as an adult.

All with the exception of celebrating Christmas and Corpus Christie (at the Polish church).

When asked about the latter, the respondent informed me (seemingly slightly embarrassed) that, “we never went to Mass as kids, but Mum used to take me along *with her* when I was a kid being the youngest. I kinda enjoy this ceremony I don’t see it as being religious in any way, just something I’ve kept from the past.” (Respondent’s own emphasis, US 2nd Gen No.605/PMO/M)

However, when questioned about the value of Polish schooling, he said he had negative feelings about this subject in that, “I don’t understand why we should have to be forced to do extra schooling to learn Polish, my dad’s not Polish”.³² There were, he felt, some areas of conflict between himself and his mother in view of the fact that all his siblings had realised their ambitions. (At the time of his interview this respondent was unemployed). Ultimately, he felt that, “my Polishness has held me back, ... I coulda done better in life with that not always hanging over me.”

Hitch (1975: 284) maintained that in his observations of Poles, he became aware of the effect of overachieving in the second generation child, as a result of being pushed to do well. He says, ‘the present writer has gained the impression that many second-generation Polish boys are overachievers’. He goes on to explain this overachieving in terms of the status incongruity experienced by the Polish fathers, ‘in his estimation this may well be attributable to the considerable employment stress experienced by the previous generation’ (Hitch, 1975: 284).

³² US 2nd Gen No.605/PMO/M.

Gula (1993: 147-8) also makes reference to the déclassment of (first generation) Poles whose (Polish) qualifications, skills, and therefore exalted positions in pre-WWII Poland had not been recognised by post-war British society, ‘a Polish Ambassador now cleaned the silver in a hotel, a Colonel and an old legionary, mentioned in Polish history books, became woodcutters in Welsh forests, ... teachers and scientists became railway workers and attendants at railway stations’.

Prior to entering the UK labour market, these Poles had been able to retain their traditions and culture in the UK whilst still living in the various camps to which they had been allocated, as part of the Polish Resettlement Corp (PRC), as well as in the camps for Displaced Persons (DP). These were ‘micro Polish societies’, in that the pre-war social hierarchy of status recognition of those Poles who lived in these camps was maintained and acknowledged, as well providing their own Polish schools, priests, chapels, libraries, shops, and some even had cinemas (the latter three were often mobile facilities). In this somewhat protected environment these Poles were able to reflexively maintain their culture, whilst their children were taught English, and some provision was made for adult language classes (Gula, 1993: 148). When it was time to leave these camps, many Poles experienced a culture shock (Jagucki, 1983; Sword, 1996).

In her study on Poles who had remained in such camps until the present day, Strzalkowska (1993) found that the remaining forty Poles at the time of her study (there were originally eight hundred permanent residents at this camp after the disbandment of the PRC), were a classic example of sufferers of ‘cultural

bereavement' (Eisenbruch, 1984³³). For such individuals this has been the result of the 'psycho-social transition of uprooting together with the traumas of war, loss of their homeland, families,' and the loss of the daily reality they have come to know and more importantly, to rely on (Strzalkowska, 1993: 1).

These following quotations are just a few recollections of my first generation respondents about their experiences. The first two are from an American respondent who had planned to settle in the UK after the war, but had felt that he had been treated so unreasonably by Britons that when the opportunity to emigrate to America presented itself, he took it. He said:

"There was none of that camaraderie that we had been led to believe the British would be showing us for the part we, the Poles, played in WWII Instead, we had to fight for everything, the right to be treated fairly, to live somewhere clean, the right to have work *we* wanted *and were able to do*, the right to practise our faith, every small right had to be fought for time and again.... Yes, we were treated as an 'ausländer'³⁴."

(Respondent's own emphasis)

US 1st GEN No.802/PM

He went on to say regarding maintaining a (Polish) education for his children:

"When you lose so much so quickly, and end up on foreign soil, you realise that for your own children to make it in this world, they need not only a solid education, but they also need to know where they are from. This is why I have always been very willing to pay for [my children's] private Polish tuition when we were living in places with no Polish schools." [My inserts]

US 1st GEN No.802/PM

Another first generation respondent's comments on this same issue were:

"Our wonderful (Polish) past is the only thing left, we must not let that be taken away like everything else. Being knowledgeable about our own

³³ This reference was from Strzalkowska, 1993, page 1, where a full discussion on cultural bereavement may be found in chapter 4, pp.39-48.

³⁴ 'Ausländer' is a German word which when translated actually means 'alien'- in the English sense.

history, language and culture separates us from the English brutes who are totally ignorant of any culture of their own. My children have shown me that they are proud of their heritage, ... they have not let me down, they are doing well.”

UK 1st GEN No.322/PM

One theme which was recurrent in my discussions with second generation Poles was an awareness of the impact that the migratory experiences had had on the first generation (Williams, 1996; Lipsedge, 1993; Norman, 1988). For example, one respondent declared:

“I know that my parents have suffered as a result of being Polish,on top of that all the trauma from the war, it's little wonder that they are more ill than my friend's parents .. many of whom are much younger” [then the English parents].

UK 2nd Gen No.35/BPP/M

In a sense, their parents' experiences of hardship and, at times, discrimination (the above respondent's father experience of racial discrimination throughout his life in the UK), were seen to lead to what they thought, had been a proscribed type of life, devoid of elements to which they were entitled in Poland, such as a better quality of life, often a result of a higher status in the community (Lipsedge, 1993; Gordon, 1990; Jagucki, 1983).

Another respondent said the following in reference to her father's early years in the UK,

“I only know what my dad went through, 'cos of what my mother told me. He never talks about it. He wasn't treated badly here. I think it's because of what he went through in the war, and being captured.”

UK 2nd Gen No.212/PFO/F

Explaining The Persistence and Consequences of Status Competition.³⁵.

As a result of these experiences, one might say that it is not unusual for (these) parents to want their children to do well at school, knowing not only that their chances of securing a better job are that much greater, but that (in their eyes) such an achievement would elevate the whole family to a higher standing in Polonian society. So when one looks at the extremely high results which my collective UK respondents received at 'O' and 'A' level (pages 194-196), and the comparative achievements of my US respondents (page 198), and in addition to this, their collective occupational achievements³⁶; when also taking into account my wider sweep to include siblings' occupations (page 213), which were also disproportionately high; as well as the many relevant quotations, most of which I was unable to include here from my respondents, all point very strongly to the presence of an additional (internal) force motivating these outcomes, which I believe very convincingly underpin Znaniecka Lopata's (1976) theories of internal struggles in the form of status competition, within as well as 'outside' Polonia; as well as with Morawska's (1977: 102) findings, in viewing constant 'hard work' and 'thrift' as two defining character traits of (her respondent's) Polish parents. This can be seen to be true not just for US but also for UK respondents therefore, as they competed not only with each other, but also against American (and British) society at large, particularly in the sphere of educational achievement.

³⁵ Although this discussion touches upon some topics already covered in this chapter, such as occupational mobility and education etc., their further discussion here is central in demonstrating how the presence of status competition in Polish culture has affected in some ways, American Poles' long-term perception by non-Poles, and historically their (cultural) development.

³⁶ Regardless of whether one looks at my *social mobility* or *occupational attainment* analyses, both outcomes indicate higher overall occupational positioning when compared with equivalent official figures, such as I have set out in my discussion on both (pages 202-216).

In order for the reader to understand precisely how the persistence of status competition has been maintained, there are several aspects regarding this concept which require a little more detailed discussion. Znaniecka Lopata (1994) explains that the century long maintenance of status competition in American Polonia is socio-cultural in nature, and underpins her argument that its ongoing and continued existence within the American Polonian community for this desire to historically excel within the group was as a result of two main cultural elements. Firstly, it was considered a sign of weakness to accept aid from outside the Polonian networks. Throughout its history Polish (regional as well as national) culture has been immersed in concepts of self sufficiency and social etiquette, to the point of honour (Gorka, 1942; Braito, 1988).

Secondly, personal self-fulfilment and recognition in the host society's social and economic hierarchy was traditionally often never realised as a direct result of this ethnic group's individuals' invariable interest in developing and thereby fully participating in the social structure of Polonia. As Polonian society evolved, new generations of independent business people, proprietors, etc. aspired to gain parental or better positions of status within Polonia.

These two factors, Znaniecka Lopata maintains, are a direct result of those same values held by the majority of immigrants (including those currently under discussion) who emigrated over time to America, (as discussed previously, see Table 1.1, page 103), who were originally mostly of peasant background. The composition of those early Poles consisted of the two main classes of those times, which were gentry or nobility and the peasantry class (Super, 1939).

Although there were some differences between the waves, they all brought with them a shared ‘strong heritage of status competition’ (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994: 56); and, even when the country as a whole had moved away from occupational inheritance American Poles continued to observe it (Hutchinson, 1956). These earlier immigrants, escaping from the oppressive controls of the Russian and German occupations, welcomed the internal freedom to structure their new lives.

Znaniacka Lopata maintains that an important factor which contributed to the Polish American’s ability ‘to build a complex social structure, ... was their need to meet the demands of life in a foreign country’ (1994: 56), as well as their aptitude in accumulating wealth in a relatively short time, which allowed for the steady development of a complex and highly organised ethnic community, one with ‘sufficient institutional completeness’ (Ibid.: 55). This same level of determination and need to reproduce a highly organised and structured community is in evidence within the UK Polonian community (Patterson, 1977; Zubrzycki, 1956, 1992; Sword, 1982, 1996). Depending rather on status symbols learned back home in Poland, these Poles (including the post-war political émigrés) chose to invest their savings in buying land, contributing to the building of community facilities and churches etc., and freeing themselves of their mortgages, rather than ‘spend money on luxuries in order to maintain a competitive standard of living with their non-Polish neighbors’ (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994: 56). In this latter point the outlook of my era of both UK and US first generation respondents differed in that, as I will go on to say (page 231), they actively competed with the host society in terms of status competition, as well as internally within Polonia

(Znanięcka Lopata, 1994; Sword, 1996, Zebrowska, 1986).

The development and diversification of American Polonia grew over time as a result of the varied mix of Poles within it, such as political émigrés, priests, intelligentsia refugees, artisans, etc. Those with leadership qualities formalised a variety of organisations which reflected their various interests, and to which many American Poles readily took up membership.

There were concerns amongst American Catholics who viewed all immigrant groups as problematic, especially those with a Catholic background which had arrived to America in such large numbers as the Poles had. For example, it was deemed 'desirable that the immigrant become Americanized and that he learn the English language and American customs' otherwise there might be a danger of 'an unassimilated polyglot Catholic population' (Linkh, 1975: 188).

Each wave of Poles brought their own viewpoint into the community, with their *raison d'être* often serving to aid in the facilitation and development of new internal groups and organisations, which sometimes differed to those already established. This gave rise to internal conflict, factionalisation and change (Znanięcka Lopata, 1976, 1994).

Sociologically these changes are very interesting, as they have reflected how the internal status competition has varied with the changing Polonian ideologies. For example, the arrival of the post-war wave of Poles to America, namely my first generation respondents, found that their needs differed from those immigrants who arrived to America at the turn of the century. These latter Poles, most of

whom were poorly educated peasants, were not at all equipped to enter American economic life with an equal footing to compete for jobs with Americans. They were often forced to flock towards menial jobs such as in the packing houses in Chicago, Pennsylvania's coalmines, and Detroit's car manufacturing assembly lines (Erdmans, 1998) where to this day Polonian communities have flourished. In addition to this, these earlier immigrants 'transplanted' (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994:147) an attitude towards the benefits of education which was at best negative, believing that it would undermine their traditional way of life.

Education for women particularly was considered a waste of time, but also for the men since the traditional patriarchal family system provided (mandatory) entrance into the father's workplace as early as possible, and thus maintained the internal status recognition of these families within their communities. This way of thinking was passed down from one generation to the next, with those from the gentry class often occupying positions of higher status and leadership, with little threat of losing their positions to those (less educated) Poles from the 'peasant' class. In fact, Lieberman (1963) found that occupational inheritance occurred more frequently in American Poles than in any other ethnic group, and in studies Poles consistently featured below the expected rate of intergenerational mobility when compared with other white immigrants.

However later, more extensive studies on American ethnic groups and inter-generational occupational persistence, such as those carried out by Lieberman and Waters (1988) have revealed that the persistence of intergenerational occupational stagnation has been declining for American Poles, and the

interesting point here is that the more significant changes have taken place after the arrival of the post-WWII political émigrés. Woods' (1955)³⁷ study on changes in an established Polonian settlement, points towards an adjustment in the attitudes of Poles already resident in Polonia (i.e. descendants of the earlier immigrations), as changing their outlook towards the benefits of higher education, not for themselves, but for their children.

The experience of life for post-war émigrés' were altogether different to those of earlier immigrants, often urban rather than rural, and they had been involved in a variety of occupations, with education directly influencing entry into various occupational opportunities, to a lesser extent also for women, even though occupational inheritance still existed. Higher education for both sexes was more common amongst this wave, and in the case of my own respondents, they all without exception had finished High School (in the case of my US first generation, and for my UK first generation respondents all had achieved the equivalence of education to 'A' level).

In any event, their pre-war social environment, experiences of war itself, the following diaspora and their survival of these events, encouraged my first generation Poles to change their outlook on the outside world. They too brought with them the need to excel, and although status competition continued as a feature of their lives for this generation of Poles, it did not function at the expense of their development when in contact with the host society, but as a result of it (Mostwin, 1971). This generation of Poles was not so inward looking,

³⁷ This reference taken from Znanińska Lopata, 1994: 159.

and Znaniecka Lopata (1994: 161) maintains that on the contrary, they did not initially join the already established Polonian internal status competition, they chose rather to either develop their own 'sub-communities' [in which status competition was also maintained] or to turn instead to the American sources for self-establishment such as education, occupation in white collar positions, and residence in nonethnic neighborhoods' (my insert). As such their ideology in maintaining status competition as political émigrés and refugees, and not as economic immigrants was somewhat different to that of the established Polonian communities.

But there were areas of hardship for some first generation respondents and not for others. These particular examples illustrate the differing employment prospects for UK and US first generation Poles, and highlight the structural differences in the two societies, and as a result, the opportunities available.

"When we came here, we were not told straight away that they [the British] expected us to do the worst and hardest jobs, [or] they would send us back to Poland. *Back where!!* To Russia. It was very, very hard in those early years ... We had to register at the local Police station, like we were prisoners. We went from one hell to another." [meaning labour camp]

[My inserts]

UK 1st Gen No.302/M

An American first generation Pole prefaced his explanation with:

"I was not happy about the way I was treated in England, so as soon as I was able to get to America, I did so."

He then continued with his experience of employment, (and this mirrored a number of US respondents' employment opportunities):

"... it was hard, but I got a job that I wanted to do. They would help you out, if you wanted to go to night-school, and get a trade."

US 1st Gen No.807/M

Yet, those two factors regarding the persistence of status competition which I discuss earlier (pages 226-227), do not seem to totally apply to my respondents' generation of Poles either in the US or UK, even though a form of status competition is being maintained. For example, Sword (1996: 120) describes the UK Poles very much as Znaniecka Lopata has described American Poles over the years,

the Polish Exile community has to a large extent over the first five decades of its existence in Britain been independent, self-sufficient and reluctant to seek or accept help from the outside. To a much greater extent than other minorities it has been too proud to accept what it sees as charity.

However, even though the first factor was applicable to UK Poles, their achievements were, like their US counterparts, carried out in direct competition with the host community, therefore the second factor does not apply to them in that status competition was being still being observed in spite of this. These UK and US first generation respondents adjusted to the different environments as a result of the resources available to them. The respective structural mechanisms in place in the UK and the US were in total opposition in terms of freedom of choice (i.e. regarding occupation, geographical mobility) for the post-war Poles. The significance of these differences will be examined further in my next analysis.

Overall Ethnicity Maintainment.

In this section I will be examining and then discussing, those representative³⁸ elements of Polish culture which were maintained by first generation Poles here in the UK. I will also introduce contributory elements, which have featured in respondents' lives directly as a result of being Polish, whether maintained or not, such as reported discrimination.

These two sets of first generation findings will be followed by equivalent figures for my second generation Polish UK and USA samples. Of course, there are some elements of the questionnaire which will be exclusive to first (and second) generation groups, as well as those which are irrelevant to the US sample. Unless otherwise stated, the full complement of respondents (112) will be used in the analyses regarding Polish ethnicity maintenance, since the additional ten respondents (8 second, and 2 first generation, as indicated on p.191), each completed this set of questions.

Since I have tested for the presence of quite a number of Polish customs, there is a fair amount of data to present. Therefore the data in this section on ethnicity maintainment in general will be presented and discussed in the following order:

'Catholic schooling' will follow imminently, next I will be discussing the 'maintainment of Polish religious and cultural traditions' and 'Mass attendance'

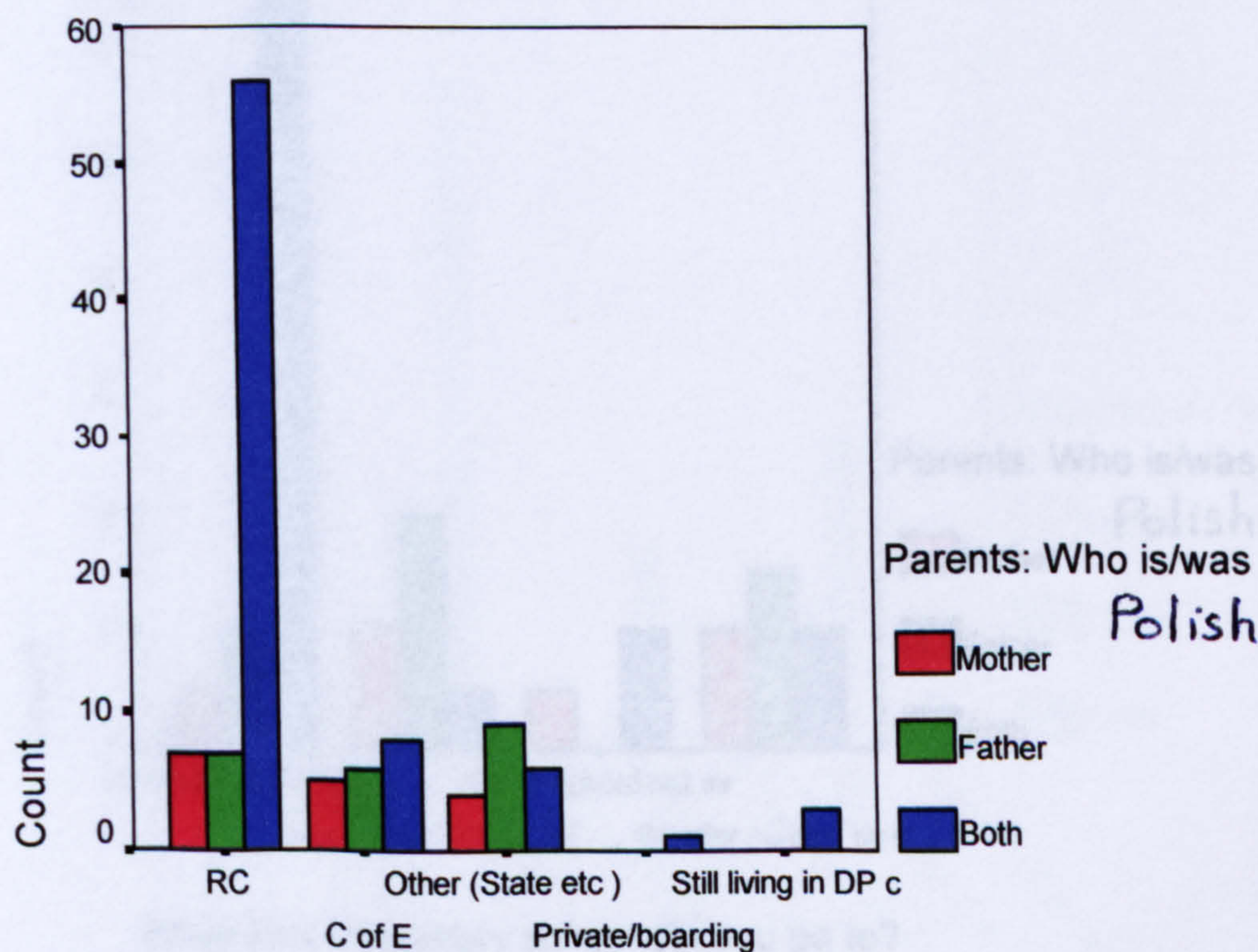
³⁸ These are of course elements of 'Polishness' which I put together to construct one perspective of Polish culture. They are in no way a definitive version of what is, or what is not, a Polish way of life. In fact, I was reminded of certain traditions whilst piloting my questionnaires, which I had observed in my childhood, and had long been forgotten. These were then included. I tried very hard not to impose any kind of *judgment* as to what did (or did not) constitute Polish cultural tradition; to what level they were being maintained; and, whether one was less of a Pole (sic) if found not to adhere to other's imposed constructs. As I discussed in my literature chapter, such constructs have been used in recent research on Polish communities in the UK, (Zebrowska, 1986).

after which come ‘self-identity and sub-cultural identity’ , respondents’ experiences of ‘racism’, and last in this section will be the ‘health’ related data.

A Discussion of my Findings: Catholic Schooling.

I would like to start by showing the levels of Catholic school attendance by second generation respondents at primary/junior school level, as controlled for by type of Polish parent, for both UK and USA respondents.

Figure 3. UK Second Generation Catholic school attendance, by parent³⁹



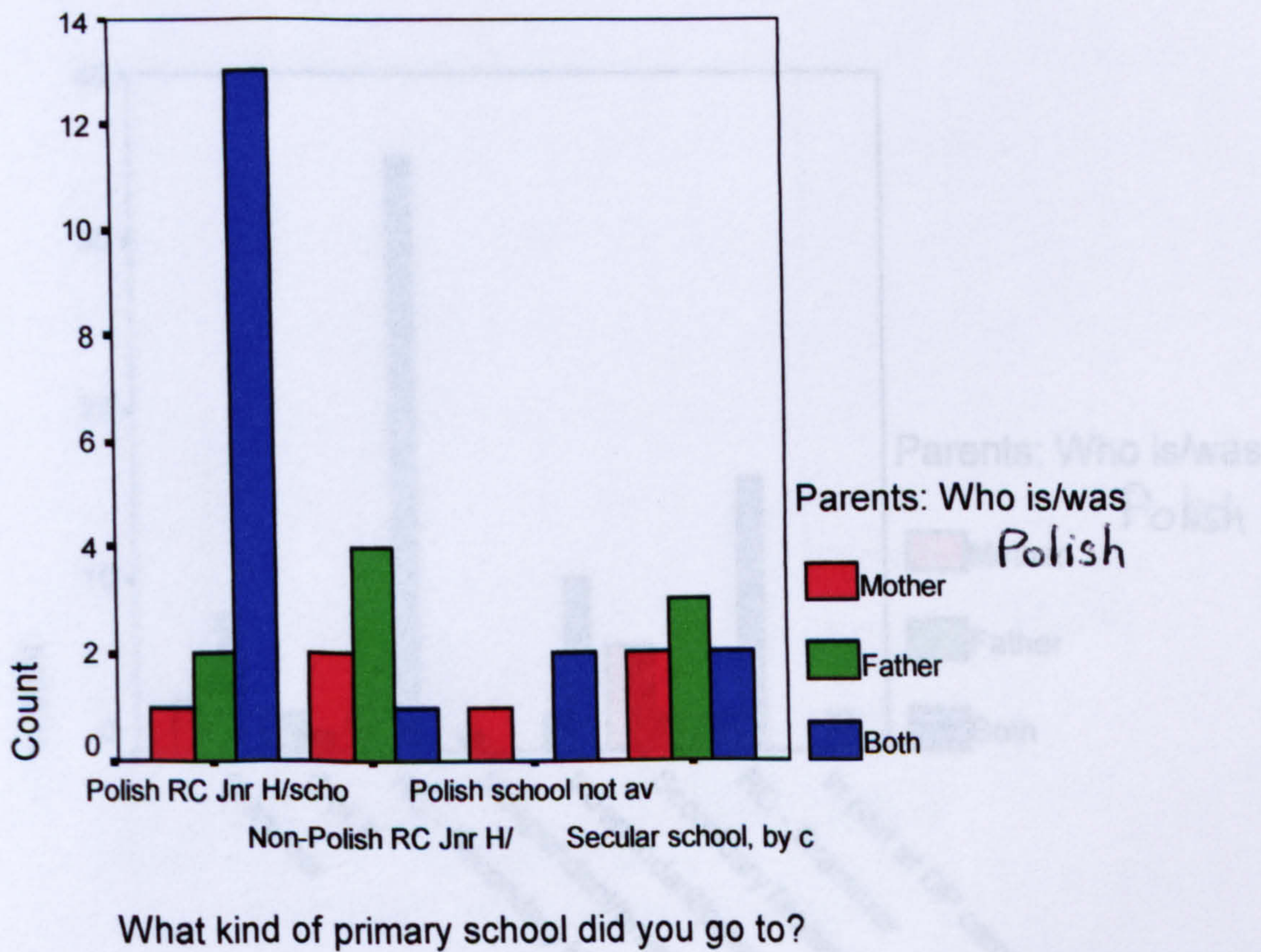
What kind of primary school did you go to?

As we can see in Figure 3 and Figure 3.1 (p.235), at first school level, attendance

³⁹ For the corresponding cross-tabulation P=0.002 for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 8 degrees of freedom (value = 24.744).

to a Roman Catholic (RC) school was highly preferred by both UK and US respondents' parents, especially those from the BPP sub-samples (76%, 56/74 and 78%, 14/18 respectively). For UK respondents, of the three sub-groups, PFO were the least likely to have attended a RC school (32%, 6/19), but the most likely to have attended a secular school (47.4%, 9/19). The overall figures for RC school attendance for UK and US respondents were 65.2% (73/112), and 69.7% (23/33) respectively.

Figure 3.1. US Second Generation Catholic school attendance, by parent⁴⁰



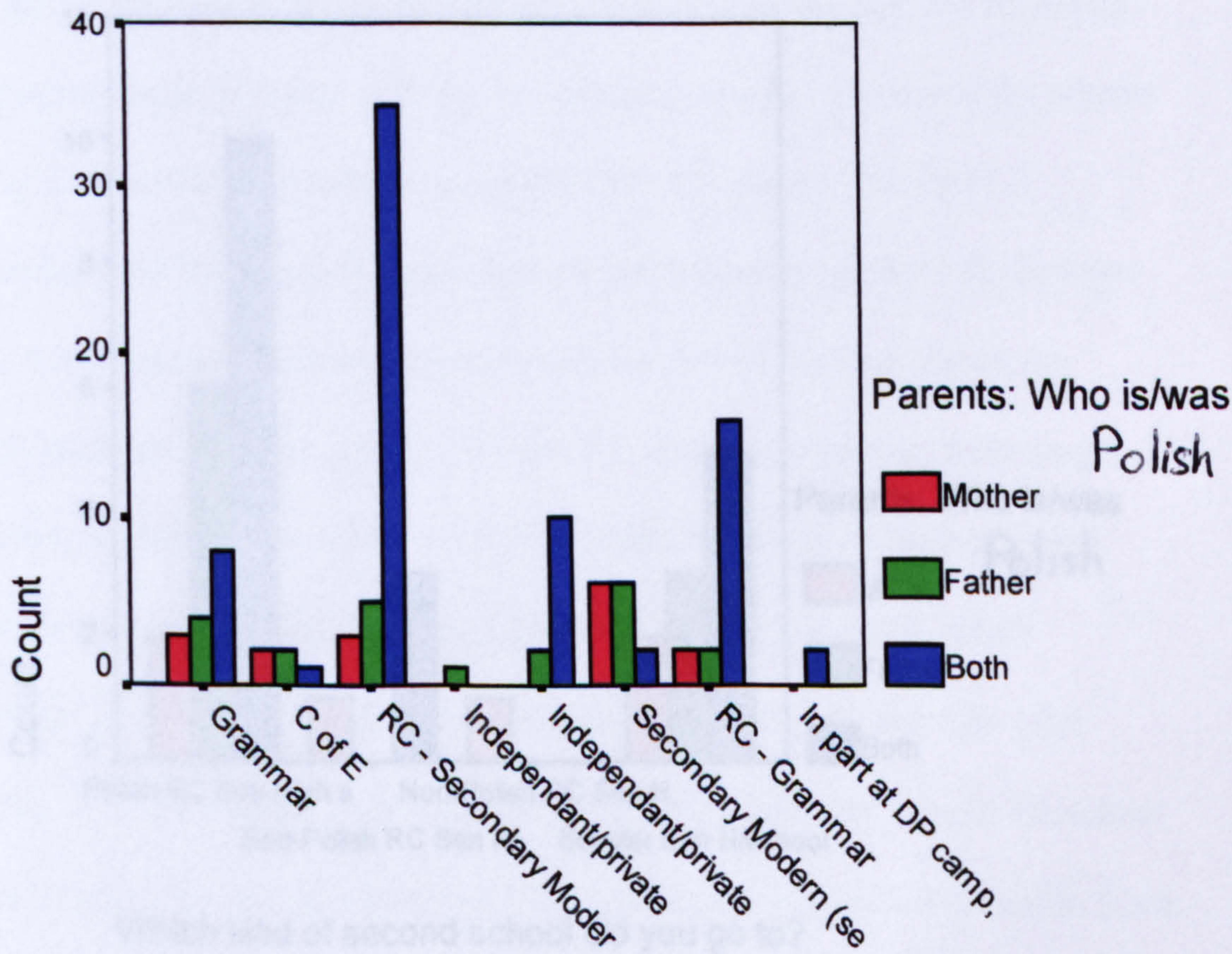
These last figures require some further explanation, especially due to their significance in the case of those for the US respondents. Firstly, these are total figures for all RC schools' attendance, and in the case of UK respondents also

⁴⁰ For the corresponding cross-tabulation $P=0.050$ for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 6 degrees of freedom (value = 12.593).

includes respondents (3/112, 2.7%) who were living in a Polish DP camp, and were schooled in Polish, on site, usually by the resident priest. In the case of US respondents, this means both Polish and non-Polish RC schools⁴¹. The trend towards RC schooling is apparent for both groups with the greatest

The figure for the category ‘Polish RC school’ was 48.5% (16/33), and for non-Polish RC school’ was 21.2% (7/33). Furthermore, Catholic schools in the UK are free, whereas in the US such parochial schools are not (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994).

Figure 3.2. UK Second Generation Catholic school attendance, by parent⁴²

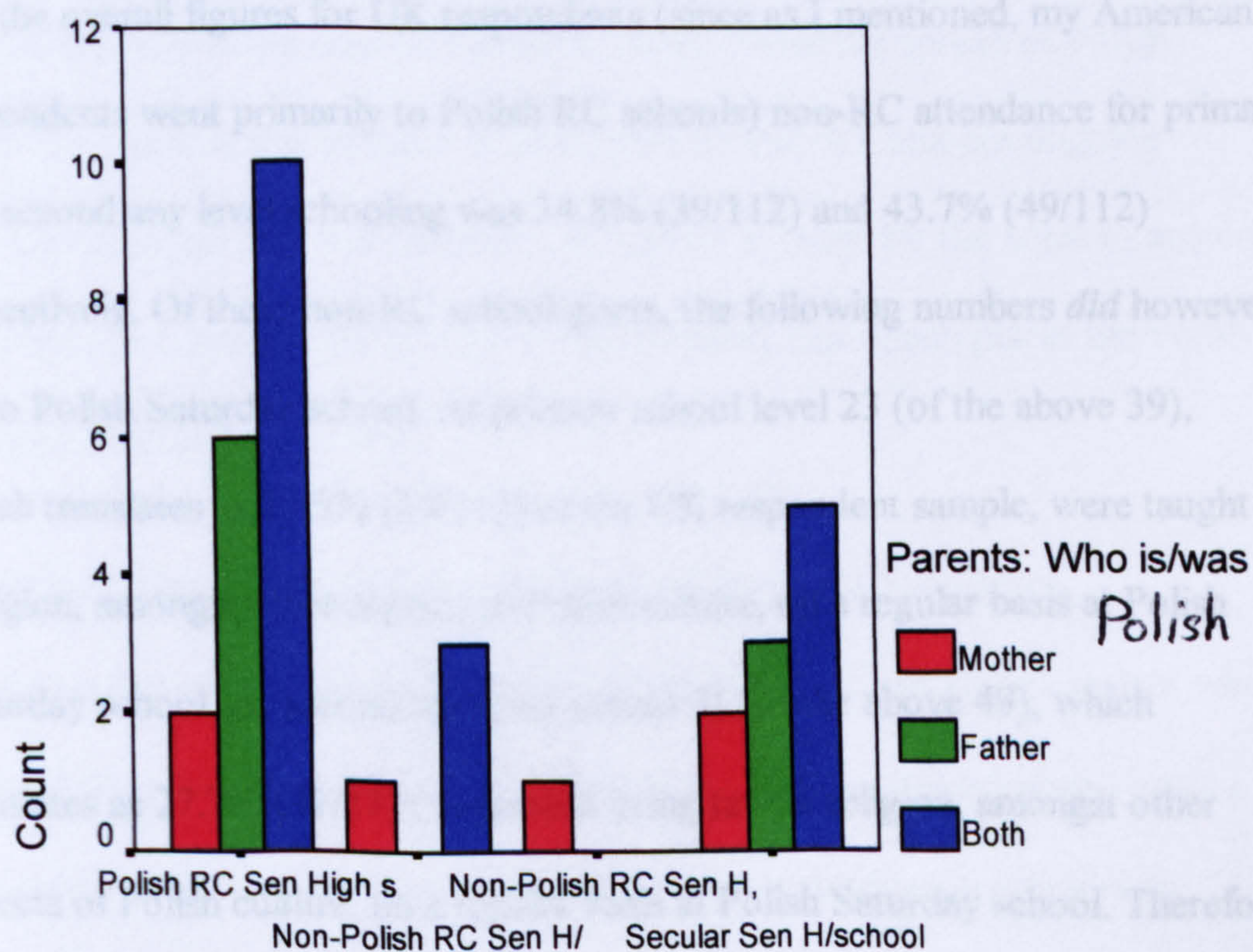


Which kind of school did you go to next?

⁴¹ There were and continue to be, no Polish RC day schools in the UK, with the exception of one private Polish RC boarding school for girls, and a private Polish RC boarding school for boys, both now no longer in operation.
⁴² For the corresponding cross-tabulation P=0.001 for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 14 degrees of freedom (value = 37.348).

Figure 3.2 (p.236) and Figure 3.3 (below) show the levels of Catholic School attendance at the next schooling level, for both UK and US groups. Once again, the trend towards RC schooling is apparent for both groups with the greatest proportions being found in the sub-group BPP, being 68.9% (51/74) and 72.2% (13/18) for the UK and US respectively. Overall figures for RC school attendance at any second school level were 56.3% (63/112) for the UK and 69.6% (23/33) for the US.

Figure 3.3 US Second Generation Catholic school attendance, by parent⁴³



Which kind of second school did you go to?

Although I have already covered my data relating to educational attainment

(pages 192-198), I have put this section here because it assists in illustrating not

⁴³ ⁴³ For the corresponding cross-tabulation $P=0.337$ for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 6 degrees of freedom (value = 6.824).

only the significance that religion has had in the daily lives of the Polish first generation, but also how evident its use has been by the majority of both UK and US first generation parents of these respondents, as a cultural boundary marker (Sword, 1996, Dolan, 1997).

The importance of religion to these Poles was further confirmed when I looked at RC school attendance, and cross-tabulated it with Polish Saturday school attendance. My interest here was to ascertain how many of those UK second generation Poles who had gone through primary and any second schooling which were non-religious in nature had attended Polish Saturday school. In looking at just the overall figures for UK respondents (since as I mentioned, my American respondents went primarily to Polish RC schools) non-RC attendance for primary and second any level schooling was 34.8% (39/112) and 43.7% (49/112) respectively. Of these non-RC school goers, the following numbers *did* however go to Polish Saturday school. At primary school level 23 (of the above 39), which translates as 20.5% (23/112) of the UK respondent sample, were taught religion, amongst other aspects of Polish culture, on a regular basis at Polish Saturday school. At second any level school 31 (of the above 49), which translates as 27.7% (31/112) continued being taught religion, amongst other aspects of Polish culture, on a regular basis at Polish Saturday school. Therefore overall figures for second generation UK respondents who were exposed to some form of regular (Catholic) religious instruction throughout both childhood and adolescent years can actually be seen as 86.5%⁴⁴ (96/111) at primary school

⁴⁴ These two overall figures correspond to 111 responses from the 112 UK respondents in this particular analyses.

level, and 84.7% (94/111) at second school level.

Taking these figures as well as those for my US respondents, I believe that this shows more strongly the level of determination to educate one's children in this manner. As such, the implications of this finding strongly underpin the arguments regarding the central importance of religion in the life of American Poles (Znanięcka Lopata, 1976b, 1994; Bukowczyk, 1987), as well as British Poles (Gula, 1993; Zubrzycki, 1992), and its part in helping to maintain Polish culture and language as a means to competing internally (due to higher language proficiency) for status within the Polish community for both these groups. This is particularly true in the case of American Poles, where the spread of Polish Catholic culture in this instance is contingent on Polish Catholics ongoing willingness to pay for their children's education in order for the latter to acquire and maintain a specific knowledge of being Polish, one which places the Polish Catholic faith at its very core.

The Maintainment of Polish Religious and Cultural Traditions.

I put together a preliminary range of those Polish traditions known by me, which after piloting first generation respondents, I modified to suit my needs, since I was using primarily their experiences as a template in order to establish (a selection) of Polish cultural traditions, both religious and cultural, observed by the community at large. As such, for much of the following discussion I shall be showing only second-generation levels of cultural maintenance.

Since it is well known that there are regional variations of traditions in general (Lopata, 1995; Erdmans, 1998; Szczepanski, 1970) I was not expecting to come

across, or indeed be able to include, every single kind of observed tradition. Those used however, are almost identical to those observed by my American first generation sample, which confirmed my belief that such main elements were retained, (although doing so often meant introducing a small element of variation in for example, food preparation or religious observance), and served to act as Polish ethnic boundary markers both here in the UK and in America.

In looking at religious and cultural traditions, I will endeavour to indicate the (following) findings in the form of the three sub-groups (BPP, PMO, and PFO) for the UK second generation sample (totals for which were 74, 16, and 22 respectively). For the US sample size has not permitted further disaggregation, and in this section I am restricted to looking at these data in terms of overall cultural maintenance. As I stated before, these categories were based on parental or first generational observance patterns, and therefore these traditions both religious and cultural, are being observed (and practised daily where relevant), by both UK and USA first generation respondents⁴⁵.

Table 5 Overall UK Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Religious Traditions, Observed in Childhood and Adulthood

RELIGIOUS CATEGORY: CHILDHOOD ADULTHOOD		
Corpus Christie	84 / 75%	43 / 38%
Advent	82 / 73%	40 / 36%
Lent	95 / 85%	55 / 49%
All Souls	89 / 76%	58 / 52%
Confirmation	90 / 80%	45 / 40%
Catechism	93 / 83%	45 / 40%
1 st Holy Communion	97 / 87%	45 / 40%

⁴⁵ The only exception is where 1st generation respondents were ill when interviewed, and were therefore unable to observe certain traditions such as church going, etc.. They maintained that the rituals were generally observed by them.

Table 5 shows the overall levels of maintainment of these religious markers for the UK Polish community under observation at two points in time, during the respondents’ childhood, and currently in adulthood⁴⁶. These figures only show the collective sub-samples’ figures for religious maintainment. I was interested to see whether the levels of maintainment might be influenced at both points in time by (Polish) parental influence.

Table 5.1 Overall USA Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Religious Traditions, Observed in Childhood and Adulthood

RELIGIOUS CATEGORY:	CHILDHOOD	ADULTHOOD
Corpus Christie	25 / 75.8%	13 / 39.4%
Advent	24 / 72.7%	7 / 21.2%
Lent	25 / 75.8%	13 / 39.4%
All Souls	25 / 75.8%	12 / 36.4%
Confirmation	24 / 72.7%	12 / 36.4%
Catechism	24 / 72.7%	11 / 33.3%
1st Holy Communion	24 / 72.7%	9 / 27.3%

Table 5.1 shows the overall levels of maintainment in religious traditions for my American second-generation sample. The overall broad level of childhood observance and the subsequent erosion in adulthood, is not that dissimilar to that of the UK sample in the previous table (Table 5).

The next table (Table 5.2, p.243) shows the breakdown of the above data controlled for by the ‘which Polish parent’ variable, but only for my UK respondents. Here, the rate of decline in this set of Polish religious customs can clearly be see within this group of second generation Poles, from childhood to

⁴⁶ I am only showing positive responses for both ‘religious’ and ‘cultural’ categories, as the tables are self-evident with the questions demanding either ‘yes’ or ‘no’.

adulthood. I have shown the percentage of each sub-group per se within each category, as I wished to indicate the (different) rates of erosion between the sub- groups from childhood to adulthood.

What is interesting here is that there appears to be far less decline in the first three religious categories for respondents with a Polish mother (PMO). Whereas in the other two categories, both PFO and BPP respondents, the levels of maintainment from childhood to adulthood for religious traditions drop by approximately 50%. These data point to the presence of a Polish mother as having had some influence on second generation respondents wishing to retain certain elements of their ethnicity into adulthood (Sword, 1996). As one PMO respondent put it:

“My Polish faith is very important to me. I get that from my mother. That and the importance of knowing the Polish language. I see them as central to my Polish identity. Actually when I think about it, my Polish half really dictates my daily life – in a good way - I am very involved in Polish social and religious events, ... helping to prepare for these regular things takes up a lot of my spare time.

UK 2nd Gen No.101/PMO/M

Table 5.2 UK Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Religious Traditions, Observed in Childhood and Adulthood, by type of Polish parent⁴⁷

<u>RELIGIOUS</u>	<u>CHILDHOOD:</u>			<u>ADULTHOOD*:</u>		
<u>CATEGORY:</u>	Mother	Father	Both	Mother	Father	Both
Corpus Christie	7/15	12/21	65/72	7/16	6/22	30/74
P=0.000, $x^2=20.1$ <i>P=0.475, $x^2=1.5$</i>	46.7%	57.1%	90.3%	43.8%	27.3%	40.5%
Advent	6/16	10/20	66/72	7/16	6/22	27/74
P=0.000, $x^2=30.1$ <i>P=0.562, $x^2=1.2$</i>	37.5%	50.0%	91.7%	43.8%	27.3%	36.5%
Lent	10/16	15/22	70/74	11/16	8/22	36/74
P=0.000, $x^2=16.4$ <i>P=0.142, $x^2=3.9$</i>	62.5%	68.2%	94.6%	68.8%	36.4%	48.6%
All Souls	12/16	11/22	66/74	9/16	10/22	39/74
P=0.000, $x^2=16.2$ <i>P=0.777, $x^2=0.5$</i>	75.0%	50.0%	89.2%	56.3%	45.5%	52.7%
Confirmation*	8/16	12/21	70/74	3* /5	7*/17	35*/56
P=0.000, $x^2=26.7$ <i>P=0.295, $x^2=2.4$</i>	50.0%	57.1%	94.6%	60.0%	41.2%	62.5%
Catechism*	10/16	11/22	72/74	3* /5	7*/17	35*/56
P=0.000, $x^2=32.5$ <i>P=0.295, $x^2=2.4$</i>	62.5%	50.0%	97.3%	60.0%	41.2%	62.5%
First Holy Communion*	11/16	13/22	73/74	3* /5	7*/17	35*/56
P=0.000, $x^2=28.0$ <i>P=0.295, $x^2=2.4$</i>	68.8%	59.1%	98.6%	60.0%	41.2%	62.5%

⁴⁷ All seven of the ‘childhood’ relationships generated a statistically significant chi-square statistic (P=0.000), whereas none of the ‘adulthood’ relationships did. The % represents how many respondents from within each sub-group actually responded positively to each of the categories. For additional test statistics, all figures given in *italics* are the test statistic for adulthood, the others are for childhood cross-tabulations. The df in all cases was 2.

*In ‘adulthood’, the three categories *confirmation*, *catechism*, and *1st Holy Communion* are the responses only from those 2nd generation respondents who have children. Therefore these figures (marked *) are not strictly comparable to the respective childhood ones.

The next table (Table 5.3) shows the overall frequencies for my selection of cultural maintainment categories, and just as in Table 5, they are shown for those observed in childhood, and those observed in adulthood. What is immediately apparent from these figures is that non-religious traditions have not been subjected to the same level of erosion as the Polish religious traditions.

Table 5.3 Overall UK Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Cultural Traditions, Observed in Childhood and Adulthood (N=112)

<u>CULTURAL CATEGORY:</u>	<u>CHILDHOOD</u>	<u>ADULTHOOD</u>
Namedays ⁴⁸	47 / 42.0%	40 / 35.7%
Easter ⁴⁹	103 / 92.0%	82 / 73.2%
Christmas	110 / 98.2%	101 / 90.2%
Food - meals	96 / 85.7%	70 / 62.5%
Polish language	84 / 75.0%	65 / 58.0%

I shall be discussing the notion of ‘tradeoffs’, and how the second generation actively chose elements of their ethnicity (such as religious cultural elements), which they felt could be incorporated with the minimum of ‘intrusion’ into their daily lives, after I have presented my data on religious and cultural maintenance.

⁴⁸ In Polish culture, depending on which region the respondents’ parents were from in Poland, namedays (celebrated on the same saint’s nameday after which the child had been named) were either celebrated on that day to celebrate a person’s birthday, or in addition to a person’s birthday.

⁴⁹ It may appear at first as though these two ought to have been included in the previous religious category. However, there are a number of cultural customs intertwined with religion in celebrating Christmas in a Polish household, which are ‘peculiar’ to Polish culture (Sword, 1996: 143) and it is these markers that I used to indicate the maintenance of a Polish Easter and Christmas.

Table 5.4 UK Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Cultural Traditions,
Observed in Childhood and Adulthood, by type of Polish parent

CULTURAL CATEGORY:⁵⁰	CHILDHOOD:			ADULTHOOD:		
	Mother	Father	Both	Mother	Father	Both
Namedays $P=0.193, x^2=3.3$ $P=0.750, x^2=0.6$	10 62.5%	8 36.4%	29 39.2%	7 43.8%	8 36.4%	25 33.8%
Easter $P=0.000, x^2=23.7$ $P=0.000, x^2=16.1$	14 87.5%	15 68.2%	74 100%	11 68.8%	9 40.9%	62 83.8%
Christmas $P=0.593, x^2=1.0$ $P=0.052, x^2=5.9$	16 100%	22 100%	72 97.3%	14 87.5%	17 77.3%	70 94.6%
Food – Meals $P=0.000, x^2=76.4$ $P=0.065, x^2=5.5$	16 100%	6 27.3%	74 100%	11 68.8%	9 40.9%	50 67.6%
Polish Language Maintenance $P=0.000, x^2=60.0$ $P=0.009, x^2=9.4$	7 43.8%	5 22.7%	72 97.3%	8 50.0%	7 31.8%	50 67.6%

In Table 5.4, we can see the changes in the level of maintainment within the three sub-groups from childhood to adulthood. As I mentioned earlier, the overall level of ‘Namedays’ maintainment is proportionately lower when compared with the levels for the other categories. As one might expect, the sub-group PFO, without the presence of a mother, was found to have the lowest levels of practising ‘Food’ and ‘Language’ categories in the ‘childhood’ period, (these were 27% (6/22), and 23% (5/22) respectively). Also, PFO was the only sub-group found to have had an *increase* in the maintainment of these two

⁵⁰ The % represents the proportion of respondents from each sub-group who gave positive responses to each of the categories. Also, for this table the numbers (Ns) are all the same in the sub groups of PMO (N=16), PFO (N=22), and BPP (N=74) for each of these five categories. The test statistic for adulthood is in *italics*, and the $df=2$ in every one of the 10 cross-tabulations.

categories from childhood to adulthood, (an increase to 41% (9/22) in 'Food', and 32% (7/22) in language). I know that the numbers here are small, but nevertheless these can be explained in the following ways.

When I looked through my data I found that not only was the overall level of these two traditions within this group during childhood lower, as I stated above, but that these two elements were maintained into adulthood; with the increase in Polish 'Food' (50% or 3), and 'Polish Language' (40% or 2) maintainment corresponding to additional PFO respondents augmenting their adult lifestyles with these as a result of marrying either second generation Poles or native Poles. Interestingly, learning a language is not that easy to achieve in adulthood, so the corresponding increase was smaller. This seemed to cause no obvious problems in communication between my respondents and their respective spouses, even in the case where the spouse was Polish born, and knew very little of the English language when the couple first met⁵¹. Once again albeit inadvertently, the theory regarding a mother's presence appeared to be borne out (Sword, 1996), as non-Polish speaking PFO males who had Polish born spouses also had Polish speaking children (some of whom it must be added did not go to the local Polish Saturday school, but were taught at home by the [Polish-born] mother).

The maintainment of Polish 'Easter' and 'Christmas' customs for the BPP sub-group appears to be maintained in adulthood by 84% for the former, and 95% for the latter category of respondents. However, the erosion of the

⁵¹ I add this here, as it noteworthy to mention, because as the literature in chapter two maintained, there was almost a mutual exclusivity between the different waves. However, 5% or 6 (n=112) of my UK respondents had Polish born spouses.

categories ‘Food’ and ‘Language’ maintenance appear to be greater. For BPP respondents, the maintainment of these in adulthood have dropped by 32% (24), and 31% (22) respectively.

As we can see in Table 5.5, (excluding ‘Namedays’ due to its different usage regionally), the other three categories in the top half of Table 5.5 also show broadly similar patterns of attrition in the US as for those same categories in my UK sample (Table 5.3, p.244). On the other hand, ‘Polish language maintenance’ clearly shows some of the problems inherent in trying to operationalise a coding frame for cross-cultural purposes. There are of course no comparable types of celebrations such as dedicated Parade Days in the UK, which cater to a wide

Table 5.5 Overall USA Polish 2nd Generation Maintenance of Cultural Traditions, Observed in Childhood and Adulthood (N=33)

<u>CULTURAL CATEGORY:</u>	<u>CHILDHOOD</u>	<u>ADULTHOOD</u>
Namedays	17 / 51.5%	11 / 33.3%
Easter	31 / 93.9%	22 / 66.7%
Christmas	33 / 100.0%	28 / 84.8%
Food - meals	30 / 90.9%	21 / 63.6%

<u>Polish Language Maintenance:⁵²</u>	<u>CHILDHOOD</u>	<u>ADULTHOOD</u>
Occasionally spoken	7 / 21.2%	1 / 3.0%
Polish Parade Day Attendance only	3 / 9.1%	10 / 30.3%
Pol Parade Attendance and language spoken	18 / 54.5%	16 / 48.5%
Polish language spoken only	3 / 9.1%	2 / 6.1%
No	2 / 6.1%	4 / 12.1%

⁵² This variable has been extended to cover those cultural observations I made which were specific to American society. I have included the ‘no’ responses here, since I am showing the various categories within this variable. I also wished to show the overall difference between respondents who spoke Polish during childhood, and those in adulthood who attest to speaking none at all, since there are additional response categories for US respondents.

range of ethnic groups.

This notwithstanding, by using broad aggregates, it is possible to look at any changes in language maintenance from childhood to adulthood. To do this I combined those language totals for ‘occasionally’, ‘Parade Day and language’, and ‘language only’ for both childhood and adulthood maintenance. The figures indicate that 85% of my sample of US second generation respondents practised the Polish language during childhood, and upon reaching adulthood this overall figure dropped to 58%. Once again, this figure broadly corresponds to the levels of erosion in language maintenance, as seen in my second generation UK sample. I will present my data on ‘Mass attendance’ next before discussing all these data on ethnicity maintainment together.

Mass Attendance.

Table 5.6 (overleaf) shows the overall levels of maintenance of ‘Mass attendance’ for both UK and USA second generation Poles at the same two points in time, childhood and adulthood. These figures make very interesting reading. ‘Regular’ church going dropped quite sharply for both UK and USA samples, from ‘childhood’ to ‘adulthood’, with the UK respondents showing a decline in adulthood to only of 58% of all those in this category who attended regularly in childhood and US respondents showing greater erosion with a figure of 36% attending in adulthood of all those attending mass regularly in childhood.

It is interesting to see that for both samples there is an increase from ‘childhood’ to ‘adulthood’ in the ‘occasionally’ category (but only marginally so for the US

sample) and a greater increase for both samples in the ‘never’ category. The increase in adulthood for my UK sample in the ‘Mass attendance, but other Catholic, not Polish church’ category, was in part due to those respondents who were found to be married to non-Polish practising (Irish) Catholics 4.5% (5; n=112).

Table 5.6 Going to Mass⁵³, for both UK and USA 2nd generation respondents

<u>CHURCH GOING*:</u>	<u>CHILDHOOD:</u>		<u>ADULTHOOD:</u>	
	UK	USA	UK	USA
Regularly	87 77.6%	22 66.7%	51 45.5%	8 24.2%
Occasionally	12 10.7%	7 21.2%	21 18.8%	9 27.3%
Never	7 6.3%	1 3.0%	24 21.4%	9 27.3%
Yes, but never Polish but other Catholic Ch	6 5.4%	3 9.1%	15 13.4%	0
Only Xmas & Easter	0	0	0	6 18.2%
Unanswered	0	0	0	1 3.0%
Don’t know	0	0	1 .9%	0
Total	112 100%	33 100%	112 100%	33 100%

* I have included all responses for this table.

In Table 5.7 (overleaf) are my findings for levels of ‘Mass attendance’ for my UK second generation respondents only, disaggregated by Polish parent. As can be seen, there are some interesting changes from childhood to adulthood church attendance. As one might expect, regular church attendance for BPP respondents was quite high at the ‘childhood’ stage, but reduced by half by ‘adulthood’.

⁵³ I may appear to be using Mass and Church-going interchangeably. This is done for a reason. Not all respondents are able to attend Polish Mass in Polish churches, through lack of availability. But the same meaning is inferred – *Polish* Mass attendance, regardless of setting. It can be seen from the above table that this has been the case for some UK and US respondents.

Table 5.7 Church going, by type of Polish parent for 2nd generation UK respondents, in childhood and adulthood⁵⁴

Church Going	CHILDHOOD:			ADULTHOOD:		
Category:	Mother	Father	Both	Mother	Father	Both
Regularly	5 31.3%	12 54.5%	70 94.5%	8 50.0%	6 27.3%	37 50.0%
Occasionally	7 43.7%	2 9.1%	3 4.1%	3 18.7%	3 13.6%	15 20.2%
Never	2 12.5%	4 18.2%	1 1.4%	4 25.0%	8 36.4%	12 16.2%
Yes, not Polish / Catholic Ch	2 12.5%	4 18.2%	0	0	0	0
Only Xmas and Easter	0	0	0	1 6.3%	5 22.7%	9 12.2%
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	1 1.4%
TOTAL	16 100%	22 100%	74 100.0%	16 100%	22 100%	74 100%

Overall rates of erosion in this category from ‘childhood’ to ‘adulthood’, (when looking at changes in the ‘never’ category), are:

For *all* UK respondents, the rate of erosion is indicated by a figure of 21% (24,n=112), compared to 6% (7,n=112) in ‘childhood’.

For *all* US respondents, the rate of erosion is indicated by a figure of 27% (9,n=33), compared to 3% (1,n=3) in ‘childhood’.

The breakdown by Polish parent, available for the above UK figure, is:

PMO: 25% (4,n=16), from 12.5% (2,n=16)

PFO: 36% (8,n=22), from 18% (4,n=22)

BPP: 16% (12,n=74), from 1% (1,n=74)

This highlights a greater rate of non-attendance for PFO, and least for BPP

⁵⁴ These cross-tabulations generated a statistically significant chi-square statistic for childhood ($\chi^2=49.2$, $df=6$, $P=0.000$), but not for adulthood ($\chi^2=7.8$, $df=6$ $P=0.253$), (when removing the ‘unanswered’ and don’t know’ categories).

respondents. The rate of childhood-to-adulthood erosion in attendance is similar for the three sub-groups.

I would now like to discuss the various tables presented throughout this current section (pages 240-250) on the maintenance of Polish cultural and religious traditions. It is evident from the responses in all these tables (Table 5 – 5.7) that on the whole the maintainment of religious and non-religious Polish traditions has diminished from childhood to adulthood in both case study groups. There are different levels of change, especially visible where I have been able to break down the responses and show them in the BPP, PMO, and PFO sub-groups. For instance Table 5.3 (page 244) is a good example of how much easier it seems to be to maintain non-religious Polish traditions in the daily lives of my UK respondents, with the US respondents (Table 5.5, page 247) showing broadly similar rates of erosion. As one US respondent claimed,

“Over here everyone celebrates Christmas, just like everyone seems to go to watch a lot of the parades, it’s a ‘do your own thing’ kinda society. It’s easier to celebrate Christmas – the shops are full of reminders already from Thanksgiving. A lot of the grocery stores carry a lot of Polish and other foodstuffs.”

US 2nd Gen No.606/PMO/M

By comparison, Table 5.2 (page 243) shows a more accelerated trend towards the erosion of religious cultural maintainment in adulthood. One respondent whose earliest childhood memories of taking part in Polish religious celebrations were of those that were organised in the resettlement camp whilst still living there said, “It was easier in those days, the camp was like an extension of your family in the sense that you all took part in every event. It was expected.

Nowadays these things clash with your everyday life, it’s more difficult to find

the time for it”.⁵⁵

These patterns of erosion are even more accentuated when looking at the responses for ‘Regularly’ and ‘Never’ going to Mass in Table 5.6 (page 249) and Table 5.7 (this latter one showing the same UK case study data but disaggregated into ‘which Polish parent). Here the figures for attendance dropped sharply. In Table 5.7 the redistribution of PMO respondents from ‘childhood’ to ‘adulthood’ appear in some ways to mirror some of the trends in Table 5.2 (page 243) for my UK second generation PMO respondents, where there was far less erosion in some of the categories, than for the other two subgroups, BPP and PFO.

Even though I was unable to disaggregate much US data in this section in order to show patterns of maintainment in the three sub-groups, these US respondents from the sub-groups BPP, PMO, and PFO often shared the same sentiments regarding their ethnicity as my (their) UK counterparts. For example one US PMO respondent told me that she felt “a sort of need to maintain some of my religious heritage, so it just don’t fade away. It’s important to me.”⁵⁶

Whilst another, this time a PFO⁵⁷ respondent, claimed, “I am not interested in keeping up these dated, boring Polish events”. A US BPP⁵⁸ asserted, “Frankly I’m embarrassed to be associated with the fervent church going, the Polkas, an’ all the rest”. I will be discussing the negative connotation that the Polka has in relation to American Poles in my discussion of racism further on in this chapter

⁵⁵ UK 2nd Gen No.15/BPP/F.

⁵⁶ US 2nd Gen No.602/PMO/F

⁵⁷ US 2nd Gen No.701/PFO/M

⁵⁸ US 2nd Gen No.517/BPP/M

(pages 279--280).

I believe that such differences in the attendance of church and other Polish religious events from childhood to adulthood can in some part be explained contextually. Hornsby-Smith's (1991) empirical study of the transformations in the religious beliefs of younger English Catholics led him to conclude that there was most certainly a shift from the old world morality of English Catholics in the last 25 – 30 years. This was manifested by a 'decline in traditional indicators of involvement in institutional religion' (1991: 228). This trend mirrors findings by both scholars and observers of Polish American traditions, including those inherent to Polish Catholicism in America (Murphy & West, 1997, Shepardson, 1997; Strybel, 1998), as well as those scholars whose interests are the long-term development of other Polonian communities including the UK one (Zubrzycki, 1992).

Although other studies (Wilson, 1966, Hammond, 1988)⁵⁹ have concluded that there is documented evidence of the process of secularisation in English Catholicism, Hornsby-Smith (1991) was himself unable to confirm that his findings were an indication of secularisation because of the problematic nature of the measurement of 'religious', and as a consequence of the nature of its meaning changing over a period of two decades.

This last point notwithstanding, I believe that his findings have resonance with the opinions of a number of my respondents who question the level of influence that religion had had in the lives of their parents, some of whom are also of

⁵⁹ These references taken from Hornsby Smith, 1991, page 228.

course my first generation respondents. Just as Hornsby-Smith's interviewees found difficulty in keeping up their religious beliefs, so indeed did my own respondents, both his and my finding that unlike the previous generation, 'few of them had a clear sense of vocation, and that the existing institutional arrangements in the Church, in particular the parish, often failed to provide them with effective support in their attempt to make sense of their everyday lives' (1991: 216). They were now prone to making up their own minds on a whole range of issues/problems such as childrearing, unemployment, marital disputes, and contraception and sexual morality per se. Hornsby-Smith's (1991, page 215) and my respondents also indicated similar apathy regarding the notions of mortal sin and eternal damnation in hell.

He (1991: 229) concludes that the data 'provide evidence indicating a process of laicization at both the individual and organisational levels. This process manifests itself in the increasing differentiation of religious belief and moral decision-making'.

One final point on this issue from Hornsby-Smith (1991, page 5), is that in order to explain these declining levels in religious custom maintenance, it is 'necessary to locate them historically in their social and religious context', because these changes occurred during times of tremendous general upheaval and uncertainty in both the lay world and the Roman Catholic Church.

Some examples of the former are post-war trauma, the construction of the Welfare State, the availability of the pill, and gradual and continuous economic growth and prosperity leading for the first time to higher house ownership, a

better standard of living and the emergence of a mass leisure industry. Such upheavals in the social fabric of traditional lifestyles, the public displays of falling from grace went in concert with the Vatican Council's decision to make internal structural changes which would reflect the Church's own modern attitude, such as Latin no longer being the main language used for the saying of masses, together aided in changing the nature of people's expectations for themselves and attitudes towards their faith and its dominion over them (Hornsby-Smith, 1991).

Likewise similar dramatic events which also effected changes in American cultural life post WWII such as the Vietnam War and the subsequent unified mass opposition rallies for call-up to fight in the war, the constant threat of the 'cold war, and nuclear annihilation between the two great ideologically opposed blocks of western capitalism, namely America and soviet communism. (Hornsby-Smith, 1991, Krolkowski, 1981). Structurally these changes underpin the overall impact of the more rapid changes in respective societal trends in both the UK and UK such as the rise in intermarriage with non-Poles (Pienkos, 1978:15), the demise of the parochial school as the traditional centre for the maintaining of Polish language and customs, primarily religious ones (Erdmans, 1998; Krolkowski, 1981), and, the drop in Mass attendance (Hornsby-Smith, 1991; Sword, 1996).

What has become very clear to me whilst working through my various responses, is that in both case studies there was evidence of environmental influences, an example of which is the level of tolerance towards the practice of such customs shown by members of the 'host' society (Cohen, 1986, 1994). As my discussion

on status competition has shown, its practise *is* being observed by post-war Poles, but in different ways to the way it has been in the past, hence its survival (Znanińska Lopata, 1994). In the same way, my research has determined that for those American and British Poles under observation, the *levels* of practising and maintaining Polish customs are determined by a complex and sophisticated set of factors. One that I have already mentioned is 'racism'⁶⁰, and its impact on ethnicity maintenance will be discussed further on in this section.

Other such factors are the influence of having one or two Polish parents⁶¹, particularly in the case of a Polish mother⁶². Another example is having either a second generation Pole⁶³ or a native Pole as a partner or spouse⁶⁴. A further factor may be that the respondent has simply chosen not to maintain any traditions as they feel that in their (adult) lives these are irrelevant⁶⁵. One final example might be that the respondent chooses not to have anything to do with the formal or public face of the ethnic group, because they are at odds, perhaps ideologically, with the position or *raison d'être* of the ethnic group, in this case the political ethos which underpinned and defined the nature of this wave of post-war Poles⁶⁶. All of the above are factors cited by just a selection of my UK and US respondents, as to why they maintain some traditions and not others, and they illustrate that ethnic identity is negotiated in different ways by the different individuals resulting in an ethnic group's heterogeneity (Erdmans, 1998).

⁶⁰ Example: UK 2nd Gen No.215/PFO/F.

⁶¹ Example: UK 2nd Gen No 9/BPP/F.

⁶² Example: UK 2nd Gen No 102/PMO/M.

⁶³ Example: US 2nd Gen No 506/BPP/F.

⁶⁴ Example: UK 2nd Gen No 201/PFO/M.

⁶⁵ Example: US 2nd Gen No 503/BPP/M.

⁶⁶ Example: UK 2nd Gen No 14/BPP/F.

Consequently as a second generation Pole, I find much resonance in Stuart Hall's (1992) explanation of the concept of ethnic hybridity, wherein descendants of a Diaspora, such as myself, will necessarily fashion their own ethnic identity partly from a mixture of their parent's ethnicity, (i.e. via my socialisation) and partly from their environment.

For example, I was interested to see that Sword (1996) in his discussion on Polish cultural customs, mentions Guy Fawkes Night. He was somewhat surprised to find that when he was invited to celebrate this unique British tradition by some Polish friends, they had prepared typically Polish Fare for the occasion. This is not so surprising. Some of my respondents' comments on practising both English and Polish traditions reflect a sense of duality – feeling both Polish and English at the same time - this was a common theme throughout my discussions. One respondent said, 'I am as English as the next guy, after all I was born here, sometimes my [English] friends seem confused that I can enjoy football and have Polish interests, *all at the same time*.'⁶⁷ Another said that she, 'enjoys doing both English and Polish things'.⁶⁸

So being Polish does not exclude one from taking part in a society's customs. On the contrary, there are ongoing discussions in the American literature on the erosion of Polish American culture, which is being diluted by American customs such as 'Donut Coffee Mornings' (Wytrwal, 1992) and whilst there is certainly some validity to this argument (Morawska, 1977), it is difficult to see just how an ethnic culture, unless it segregates itself from mainstream society, as the Amish

⁶⁷ UK 2nd Gen No.110 PMO/M. My insert, but respondent's own stressed point.

⁶⁸ UK 2nd Gen No. 209 PFO/F.

do, is not to become affected by the host environment.

Lindsay Baker (1979), writing about the hardships endured by the first Polish settlement in Texas, describes how due to the immensely different climate, these Poles were faced with foodstuffs and vegetables that they did not recognise. But just as my first generation Poles had to learn to use what was at hand, they used these as substitutes for their needs.

Therefore I do not believe that the use of non-Polish foods is an indicator that some traditions are being eroded. They are being upheld, quite simply in a different way, and one *which reflects the environment in which they live* (Strybel, 1998: 63) and does not indicate an lack of interest in the preservation of Polish ethnic traditions (Zebrowska, 1986).

Sword (1996: 139-143) talks about all the rituals involved in the traditional Polish Christmas Eve (Wigilia), which for Poles is more important than Christmas Day, because of its religious significance. Now there is no prescriptive meal for this event, as each region in Poland seems to have developed a slightly different version (p.141). Bearing in mind that most of my respondents were from Eastern Poland, I had expected to find similarity in my first generations' versions, and on the whole this had been the case.

Sword (1996: 139) says that 'the maintenance of cultural traditions ... is felt to be important by members of the Polish community'⁶⁹. My study revealed that this is very much the case (as well as supporting Morawska, 1977; and Wrobel, 1979, to

⁶⁹ In this context, Sword's observation applies to both religious and non-religious customs.

name but a few on the same issue of continued maintenance). As seen in Table 5.3 (page 244) and Table 5.5 (page 247) my overall figures for the maintenance of cultural traditions for UK respondents and US respondents were quite high, with limited erosion with respect to Christmas maintenance, from childhood to adulthood. As one respondent⁷⁰ commented,

“A Polish Christmas really is different to an English one, isn’t it? It’s funny they [the English] celebrate it when the reason that it exists has passed. I enjoy doing all the traditional things for my children, they know what it means for us Poles – even though their dad isn’t Polish he understands about Christmas of course.”

[My insert]

UK 2nd Gen No.13/BPP/F

The overall level of maintainment in the category ‘Namedays’ is not very surprising, as many UK respondents, especially parents, saw this as being a distinctly Polish ethnic (boundary) marker and enjoyed celebrating this tradition with their children. The important point to note here is that they felt that it could be easily observed in their everyday lives. When looking at the high levels of cultural maintainment in the Polish Christmas and Easter celebrations, one has to consider that these two are celebrated anyway in one form or another, both in the UK and in the US⁷¹. However of the two, Easter is the more important event in the Polish Catholic calendar.

As I noted in my footnote to Table 5.3 (Fn49, p.244), the celebration of an event such as Christmas is commonplace amongst Roman Catholic and other Christian religions. My criteria were, some might argue, perhaps too undetermined in their

⁷⁰ This respondent’s husband was a second generation Irishman.

⁷¹ This is in response to a question on the level of maintainment of any number of Polish Christmas related traditions, as there are a range of rituals associated with this custom.

approach to the maintenance of customs. But they were necessarily so, in order that I could determine how diversely these traditions were being maintained. Therefore, if only certain elements of e.g. Wigilia are being maintained, those are sufficient for me as a starting point for my analyses when looking at Polish cultural boundary markers. One has to keep in mind that I am looking at second generation respondents who have non-Polish mothers and fathers, and it is not inconceivable that these parents will have brought elements of value from their own respective heritages which they will have wished to include in their annual celebrations.

Evidence of Self-identity and Sub-cultural Identity.

The following tables are from findings that I have grouped together that can be deemed as fairly appropriate indicators of my respondents' levels of self-awareness as second generation Poles, both individually and collectively.

Table 6 illustrates my findings in response to the following question (Q.28a, PE/R6):

Do you support, or are you a member of any (UK or US) Polish organisations?

Table 6 Membership or support for Polonian organisations, showing overall UK and US 2nd generation respondents; and UK sub-groups only⁷²

<u>M'ship:</u>	UK overall	US overall	UK BPP	UK PMO	UK PFO
YES	26 23.2%	19 57.6%	16 21.6%	7 43.8%	3 13.6%
NO	86 76.8%	14 42.4%	58 78.4%	9 56.3%	19 86.4%
TOTAL	112 100%	33 100%	74 100%	16 100%	22 100%

It is clear from the (overall) figures that my UK respondents do not hold the same kinds of allegiance to Polish ethnic clubs as do their US counterparts with only 23.2% (26, n=112) of them having any kind of membership whatsoever, compared with 57.6% (19, n=33) of US second generation Poles.(The test for this UK/US comparison: Continuity Correction Chi-Square = 12.5, 1 d.f., and P=0.000). It would appear that the sub-group of PMO respondents, may observe this public ethnic marker more than the other two sub-groups, with 43.8% (7, n=16) attendance, compared with BPP with 21.6% (16, n=74), and PFO respondents, with only 13.6% (3, n=22).

Table 6.1 (p.262) shows overall figures for both UK and US second generation respondents' responses to the following question (Q.26a, PE/R 6).

How interested are you in current developments in Poland?

⁷² For the UK sub-groups' cross-tabulation. P=0.081 for the Pearson chi-square statistic with 2 degrees of freedom (value=5.023), though P=0.075 for the comparison between PMO respondents and the other sub-groups (Continuity Correction value = 3.2, 1 d.f.), and P=0.036 for the unadjusted (Pearson) chi-square statistic (value = 4.4, 1 d.f.) which is significant.

Table 6.1 Overall UK and US 2nd Gen respondents’ responses, regarding their interest in Poland; and UK sub-groups only⁷³

Interest in Poland:	UK overall	US overall	UK sub-group BPP	UK sub-group PMO	UK sub-group PFO
Great Deal:	12 10.7%	1 3.0%	12 16.2%	0	0
General Interest:	45 40.2%	16 48.5%	31 41.9%	4 25.0%	10 45.4%
Little Interest:	26 23.2%	6 18.2%	16 21.6%	4 25.0%	6 27.3%
No Interest:	29 25.9%	10 30.3%	15 20.3%	8 50.0%	6 27.3%

Overall figures for UK and US respondents regarding ‘General interest’ are broadly similar, (The test for this UK/US comparison: Chi-Square = 2.6, 3 d.f., P=0.462). Further more, it is clearly evident that when the categories ‘Little interest’ and ‘No interest’ are combined, the resulting percentages are almost identical; generating a figure of 49.1% for UK respondents, and 48.5% for US respondents. This is very much in keeping with extant literature, which finds that there are high levels of disinterest for Polish ethnic minorities in current affairs concerning Polish matters (Erdmans, 1998; Sword, 1996). Also interesting, are the nil responses for the ‘Great deal’ category, in sub-groups PMO and PFO. My next set of figures, seen in Table 6.2, are in relation to whether respondents have any sense of an ethnic self-identity. The question asked was (Q.39, PE/R 12)

How do you see yourself: as a Pole, British or American, or British or American Pole?

⁷³ For the UK sub-groups’ cross-tabulation P=0.058 (6 d.f., value = 12.056).

Table 6.2 Overall UK and US 2nd Gen respondents' responses, regarding their Ethnic Self-Identity; and, UK sub-groups only⁷⁴

Ethnic Self-Identity:	UK overall	US overall	UK sub-group BPP	UK sub-group PMO	UK sub-group PFO
Pole	34 30.4%	2 6.1%	27 36.5%	5 31.3%	2 9.1%
American Or British	33 29.5%	13 39.4%	19 25.7%	4 25.0%	10 45.5%
Amer/Pole or Brit/Pole	29 25.9%	17 51.5%	17 23.0%	6 37.4%	6 27.3%
Neither	2 1.8%	0	1 1.4%	0	1 4.5%
European	8 7.1%	0	5 6.8%	1 6.3%	2 9.1%
English	1 0.9%	0	0	0	1 4.5%
Displaced Person	4 3.6%	0	4 5.4%	0	0
Displaced Pole	1 0.9%	1 3.0%	1 1.4%	0	0

For the UK sub-groups' cross-tabulation, P=0.876, due to multiple empty cells.

This variable is one of the few whose categories I allowed extensive modification to, as I wanted to register as much as possible, how my respondents viewed themselves. Obviously, in this particular cross-tabulation, detail is at the expense of deriving a statistically significant pattern of association⁷⁵.

This notwithstanding, it is evident that there is a great deal of differentiated ethnic self-identity. Almost one third of UK respondents, (30.4% or 34, n=112) see themselves as 'Polish', and most of these are from the BPP sub-group.

⁷⁴ Comparing the overall UK/US figure gives a statistically significant result. The test statistic for this is 17.4 for the Pearson chi-square with 7 degrees of freedom, P=0.015.

⁷⁵ However, once I remove those cells which are really of little use statistically (by looking at responses for the top three categories only), than a cross-tabulation using these top three categories does generate a statistically significant linear association (Mantel-Haenszel statistic = 5.7, 1 d.f., P=0.017).

I will present one more set of figures (Table 6.3, Q.40, PE/R 12,) which show just how important being Polish is, for my UK and US respondents, before I discuss these data on self-identity and sub-cultural identity. The relationship in Table 6.3 is not statistically significant (Chi-square = 4.5, 4 .d.f., p=0.341), and when looked at in the following way, that is by combining the two top categories, the resulting figures in broad terms, for UK and US responses are (bearing in mind the group size differential), quite similar.

Table 6.3 Overall UK and US 2nd Gen responses, regarding how important is being Polish to them

Importance Of Being Polish	UK overall	US overall
Wholly Important:	44 39.2%	7 21.2%
Quite Important:	33 29.5%	14 42.4%
Not very Important:	15 13.4%	6 18.2%
Not Imp At All:	6 5.4%	1 3.0%
Just a Little:	14 12.5%	5 15.2%
Total:	112 100%	33 100%

These combined figures are 68.7% (77, n=112) for my UK respondents, and 63.6% (21, n=33) for my US respondents. However, this difference is not quite statistically significant (Continuity correction chi square = 2.9, 1 d.f., P=0.091).

A Discussion on Self-identity and Sub-cultural Identity.

Membership of formal organisations is normative behaviour in American society (Erdmans, 1998; Mostwin, 1971). This is evidenced not only by the existing range

of organisation that I listed in my discussion on Hamtramck (p.124), but also by the results from my question (Q.28a, Table 6, p.261) on membership, where my US respondents have a much greater attendance. There are no real points of comparison between UK and US lifestyles in this regard. There are social clubs in the UK and the nature of the Polish club in Coventry was described by both men, but predominantly by women, as very much a 'working man's club' and therefore was not really viewed as convivial for frequenting, with third generation offspring in tow. It would be erroneous of me, to say the least, were I to suggest that low membership was a result of diminished maintenance in this sphere without taking into account the background social situation. For example, Zebrowska's (1986) use of attendance rates for the main cultural club in Hammersmith, London, is suitable for her London-based respondents; often frequented by what might be called 'Highbrow' patrons, or as Erdmans more formally refers to them, the 'intelligentsia' (1998).

But it is possible to feel that one does have an ethnic identity without any outward or physical manifestation being made, or indeed maintained (Morawska, 1977; Sword, 1996). One may not engage in activities such as church going, or eating certain foods, or especially even speaking the language, yet still feel that that one is part of an ethnic group. Waters (1990) found, that many of her respondents who were second, third and fourth generation, still felt that they belonged to that same ethnic group. It remains to be seen whether this will be the case for third and fourth generation Poles, here in the UK.

A good example of this can be seen from my findings in Table 6.2 (p.263) which indicated that some UK and US respondents, have little interest in public meetings, formal organisations, and a dwindling interest in religion, but still ‘feel’ that they have an ethnic self. One respondent clarified for me how she saw herself:

“I am Polish, I do not ever say that I am a British Pole, as that makes me only half Polish - yet both of my parents were Poles.”

When asked, how do you define yourself as Polish? The answer was:

“I simply am ... I don't have to go to any Klub Polski in order to validate my Polishness. When I get together with my (Polish) friends we speak half Polish and half English - that's how it's always been. It's our own little world. We understand each other.”

UK 2nd Gen No.37/BPP/F

Another also voiced her impressions on the subject of having two ‘world-views’, and in effect a dual identity (Greeley, 1981) both of which formed her identity of self – and how one worldview may be understood or interpreted, because of its differences, from the other. She said, “It's great having these two identities, you see things through your parent's eyes – as a Pole, but you also understand what it's like to be English.”⁷⁶

I then decided to look at the two bottom responses of ‘Little interest’, and ‘No interest’ (in Table 6.1, p.262), to the question “*How interested are you in current developments in Poland?*” (Q.26a, PE/R 6), and I cross-tabulated them with findings shown in Table 6.2 (p.263) corresponding to the question, “*What do you see yourself as: Pole, etc?*” (Q.39, PE/R 12) with both US and UK second generation respondents who had answered either ‘Pole’, or ‘British or American

⁷⁶ UK 2nd Gen No.13/BPP/F

Pole', and these were the results.

My findings were that 36.4% (20; n=55), of UK respondents who had said that they had either little or no interest in current Polish affairs, also said that they identified themselves as being either 'Polish' or a 'British Pole'. Equally, 37.5% (6; n=16) of US respondents who had said that they had either little or no interest in current Polish affairs, also said that they identified themselves as being either 'Polish' or an 'American Pole'.

This indicates, in concert with the dwindling attendance at Polish formal (religious) organisations (Table 5.6, p.249), that for a fair number of second generation offspring, unlike the first generation, they do not identify Poland, or Polish ethnic institutions as an important and integral aspect of their own Polishness and that their identity is removed to a great extent, from the political ethos with which their parents have come to identify their own position, one which embraces religion as central to a Polish (exiled) identity. It is evident that the second generation do not share the ideological orientation which provided a purpose for their parents' upheaval so many years before, but maintain their own kinds of Polish ethnic lifestyles within the context *and as a direct reflection of, their respective environments* (Sword, 1996; Erdmans, 1998).

My UK and US first generation respondents offered *their own* feelings in the following quotations, explaining the importance of their Polishness to them, as well as indicating the gulf between one generation and the next.

"When we arrived here, we had nothing. All we had were our names and our Polish honour. In Poland these had stood for something, and they identified us. Often, it was our belief in our

faith that kept us going here – that Poland would one day be free.”
 UK 1st Gen No.313/M

Another also said:

“We find it difficult to understand why our children are not interested in keeping up our traditions, when they are also their own, to pass down to their own children. But, they seem to think that they can be Polish, and not participate in our Polish customs [meaning religious & cultural customs]. My wife gets upset about it sometimes.”

UK 1st Gen No.806/M

I would now like to move on to host / ethnic minority group relations, in relation to their respective degrees of co-operation and accommodation, as evidenced by self reported racism.

Evidence of Racism.

The following figures represent those first generation UK and USA respondents, and subsequently UK and USA second generation, who acknowledged some form of racism directed at them. I collapsed the responses into the following three categories: either ‘Yes’ (1), ‘more or less throughout my whole life’ (2), and ‘No’ (3). This question was (specifically) unprompted. There were no ‘don’t knows etc, and all UK and USA first generation respondents answered this question. I recorded only the first two categories. Any shortfall noticed in the numbers therefore, represents those who answered in the negative.

Racism: UK First Generation.

The overall figure for feeling racism was 75% (18/24), for the first generation.

a) The total figure for females who said they were subjected to some form of racism was 67% (8/12).

b) The total figure for males who were subjected to some form of racism was 83% (10/12).

When I then looked at the relationship between the above responses, and whether this treatment had ‘made it more difficult for them to adjust to their lives’ (Q.35a, PE/R 8) for females (c) and males (d) respectively), these were the results:

c) The relevant figure for first generation UK females was six (6/12).

d) The relevant figure for first generation males was six (6/12).

Racism: US First Generation.

The overall figure for feeling racism was 50% (6/12), for the first generation, and this figure included only one female (8.3%).

I believe that the differences between these two first generation sets of figures can be explained in the following way⁷⁷. The very low response of self-reported racial discrimination in US females came as some surprise to me, as the evidence continues to strongly indicate that it is not that uncommon that Poles (both females and males), are being subjected to racist remarks, and attitudes⁷⁸. My conviction here is that an environmental factor, institutional racism, comes into play (Erdmans, 1998).

Five (58%) respondents of the US cohort, were drawn from the Polish enclave of Hamtramck, Detroit. The one female did not reside there, but in Ann Arbor, where the community is substantially smaller. Here there were no geographical boundaries which designated the Polish portions of a given city, as there were in Hamtramck. This, as I have already discussed (p.127), is without being a ghetto very much a closed society. It is in effect a classic American

⁷⁷ Bearing in mind once again, the small sample sizes for US males and females.

⁷⁸ Personal communication, 12th November 1999, from the ex-Chair of the Sentinel Committee. This is the anti-defamatory arm of the Polish American Congress.

ethnic⁷⁹ neighbourhood which is self-sufficient, as well as providing work for the local Polish community.

The high rates of self-reported experience of racism for the UK first generation cohort was expected, and is very much in keeping with literature regarding the higher levels of racism experienced by minority ethnic groups in the Midlands (Mason, 1995) and by Poles elsewhere (Sword, 1989). Although the former usually relates to non-white groups (Mason, 1995), these figures underscore institutional racism experienced by other white minority ethnic groups such as the Irish (Hickman, 1998).

Racism: UK and US Second Generation.

The following figures indicate respondents from both second-generation cohorts who reported (any) experience of racism by sex. The overall figure including both sexes was 43% (48/111) for the UK, and 39% (13/33) for the US. The following tables (Table 7, 7.3 and 7.4), show only responses of ‘Yes’. The other two tables (Table 7.1 and 7.2) are those where I have been able to disaggregate my data into the three sub-groups.

Table 7 Self-reported experience of racism, by sex, all 2nd Generation Respondents (showing ‘yes’ responses only, with equivalent %)

	<u>UK:</u>	<u>USA:</u>
Females:	21 / 49 43%	6 / 13 46%
Males:	27 / 62 44%	7 / 20 35%
Totals:	48 / 111 43%	13 / 33 39%

⁷⁹ For a fuller discussion on this theme, please refer to Mindel and Habenstein, 1976.

I was interested in looking at whether having two Polish parents, or just one, either a mother or a father, might have some effect on the levels of racism recorded. The theory being that having a British parent, particularly a father (PMO – in the case of a non-Polish surname) might in some way deflect derogatory behaviour. Bearing in mind that when controlling for ‘which parent’ the reduced cell sizes served to diminish the pattern of association thereby rendering it not statistically strong, all such cross-tabulations therefore showed no statistical significance. I will however show the results, for both UK and USA respondents since I want to expand on these results qualitatively.

Table 7.1 UK Sample Self-reported experience of racism, by Polish parent

	Mother	Father	Both
YES	6 38%	11 50%	31 43%
NO	10 62%	11 50%	42 57%
TOTAL:	16 100%	22 100%	73 100%

(P=0.725 for the Pearson chi-square statistic, value = 0.642, 2 d.f.)

Table 7.2 USA Sample Self-reported experience of racism, by Polish parent

	Mother	Father	Both
YES	4 67%	2 22%	7 39%
NO	2 33%	7 78%	11 61%
TOTAL:	6 100%	9 100%	18 100%

(P=0.225 for the Pearson chi-square statistic, value = 2.983, 2 d.f.)

The resulting proportions were not (strictly) in keeping with my expectations. Whereas the spread appears to be fairly consistent, I had expected to see a higher

proportion of BPP respondents respond with a ‘Yes’. However, I shall be discussing these figures in greater detail later in the chapter, as the qualitative data from my UK respondents, particularly those of PFO, highlight some of the problems experienced by second generation Poles of mixed parentage.

There are two sets of findings left for me to deal with regarding racism before I discuss my data relating to ‘racism’. The first is where the respondents were asked whether their parents had experienced racism (Table 7.3), and whether they thought that the (perceived) racism had made their parents lives more difficult (Table 7.4, overleaf). The second set of findings is related to the first, in that I then compared those (second generation) responses to this same question, against the responses made by their own parents, in order to see just how ‘accurate’ were the second generations’ impressions of first generations’ experiences of adjustment, and assumed knowledge of racism.

Starting with the first of the two⁸⁰, these following figures show (total) responses for the question (Q.35a, PE/R 8):

‘Did your mother/father experience any racism, at all?’

Table 7.3 2nd Generation respondents’ responses, showing their assumptions regarding parents’ experience of racism

	<u>UK:</u>		<u>USA:</u>	
Mothers:	45 / 80	56%	15 / 24	63%
Fathers:	57 / 96	59%	14 / 27	52%

⁸⁰ I will just be showing ‘Yes’ responses for these last two ‘racism’ segments.

Table 7.4 contains figures based on the question (Q.35b, PE/R 8):

‘Do you feel that this (racism) made it more difficult to adjust to their new lives?’

Table 7.4 2nd Generation respondents’ responses, showing their assumptions regarding parents’ experiences of adjustment to racism

	<u>UK:</u>		<u>USA:</u>	
Mothers:	31 / 80	39%	12 / 24	50%
Fathers:	41 / 96	43%	5 / 27	19%

From these tables, we can see that although a fairly high proportion of both UK and USA second generation respondents acknowledge the racism as experienced by their parents, considerably less of them assumed that those experiences of racism would have a (potentially) lasting effect on their parents’ lives.

The second, and final set of findings in this section illustrates the disparity between second generations’ belief about parents experience, and parents’ (first generations’) ‘real-life interpretation’ of these experiences⁸¹. I do not wish to go in to the realm of recalled memories and their accuracy here, as this has already been covered in my methodology section. However, suffice to say that, it is not unreasonable to assume that experiences which have shaped Poles’ lives here in the UK and in the USA, will have *more* bearing on their everyday psyche, than those same experiences on their offspring⁸² who had been born in the respective host countries and are a to a great extent invisible to the general public and most importantly, have been fully socialised into the same various

⁸¹ Erdmans (1998) notes how very detailed were the wartime experiences described to her, during her interviews with Polish Americans.

⁸² The point here, is the different level of impact that these events will have on both generations.

nuances and social routines as have their UK and USA peers.

Nine (9/24) of my first generation UK cohort were parents of my second generation cohort and likewise, six (6) of my first generation USA cohort were parents of my (USA) second generation cohort. Of the nine UK parents, eight (89%) said that racism had had some form of impact on their lives, which made it very difficult for them to adjust to their new environment. With the USA six parents, the equivalent differential figure was found to be four (67%). Only two second-generation respondents were at parity with their parents' response on the impact of racism. I know that these are relatively small numbers, but to some extent the figures speak for themselves. I shall be discussing this outcome in greater detail in the next section, as well as the levels of recall the first generation had regarding their war experiences, and subsequent migration, in my discussion of these data on 'racism'.

First of all, I would like to address the significant levels of self-reported racism by persons from all my sub-groups, from both the UK as well as the US samples (Tables 5.1 and 5.2, pages 241 and 143). These levels are not in keeping with the notion that Poles and other such white minority ethnic groups are assumed to have been assimilated, and as such by the second generation, would not be subjected to any notable levels of racial abuse, (Erdmans, 1998; Kells, 1995; Lloyd, 1995; Hickman, 1996; Waters, 1990). These findings alone, add to the extant literature on white minority ethnic groups which attempts to demonstrate, time and again, that white minority ethnic groups who share the same, or at least similar external physical attributes as persons from the indigenous population, in which they

reside, are however, different from this population, and as a result, have a different set of life experiences. In other words, the white population is *anything* but homogeneous (Temple, 1993, 1994; Hickman, 1996; Lloyd, 1995).

Although, as stated earlier, I anticipated a significant level of 'Yes' responses to 'racism' from my first generation respondents, given the indications from the literature regarding that time period (Patterson, 1963, 1977; Zubrzycki, 1956; Rex, 1973; Novak, 1971; Morawska, 1977; Wytrwal, 1969, 1977) and, given that *their* differences (such as language, and religious customs' maintenance) within the host community gave them a much higher profile, than their off-springs' might have; the UK and US first generation overall responses to racism, which were 75% and 50% respectively were still really quite significant. What was surprising however, were the overall high levels of response with regards to self-reported racism for second generation respondents. The UK and US samples (Table 5, page 240) had overall levels of 43% and 39% with the PFO sub-groups (Tables 5.1 and 5.2, pp.241, 243) recording quite contrasting figures resulting in the highest level of response for UK respondents at 50% (11, n=22), and the lowest for US respondents at 22% (2, n=9)

What the statistics are unable to convey however, is the impact of either continued or isolated instances of discrimination against the individual as a result of their ethnicity, and how such treatment can shape one's sub-cultural identity and as Li *et al* (1995, see Fn 120, page 336) maintain, can in fact undermine one's cultural identity. I propose to demonstrate throughout this section some of the meanings *behind* what might appear to be simply definitive

positive and negative responses, and thus develop their meaning and convey some essence of what it feels like to live life as a first generation Pole in the UK or the US or a British or American Pole.

The formation of one's ethnic identity, and one's sub-cultural identity can take shape at two different levels. For example, the maintenance of one's ethnic group's *public* boundaries may designate a different ethnic identity of oneself, than is designated by those (ethnic) identity markers maintained at the personal or *private* level and forming one's sub-cultural identity (Schneider, 1990). People who have been subjected to racism, in whatever form, (Mason, 1995), can develop mechanisms, such as selective ethnic custom maintenance in the form of 'symbolic ethnicity', which enable them to deal with it on a daily basis, and result in the formation of ethnic and sub-cultural identity in a specific way, *directly as a result of this* (Waters, 1990).

In this research, I have discovered that various respondents, regardless of social class or sub-group, came to separate their Polishness into two different *personas*. Such a division between a public and private façade, is indicative of a Goffmanesque counteractive measure (Goffman, 1963).

During their public lives, they kept all aspects of their Polishness deliberately out of sight, making little or no reference to their ethnicity. This was easier for females, especially once they had married, and their Polish names were replaced with (generally) British ones. These individuals' Polish activities were, as a result, restricted to their private lives. They maintained aspects of their Polishness, often in the confines of their parents' homes, much as they had done

as children, such as celebrating cultural and religious traditions. This second *persona* therefore, was conducted away from public view.

The following quotations from a second-generation female BPP respondent indicate this lifestyle choice very clearly (italics indicate respondents' own stressed points):

"It seems, because I am white, people don't believe that *I can also be racially abused*"

The respondent went on to say:

"They - *the English* - go on about how fair they are, but it's all rubbish. They hate you for being different, they hate you for doing better than them at school, they hate you for working hard whilst all they do is go to the pub every night. They have made me conscious of myself as a Pole, and they have made me as racist as they are. They hate us, so I hate them. I don't let on that I'm Polish when I go out, but at home, it's different ... I can be Polish without the need for public displays."

UK 2nd Gen No.22/BPP/F

I have chosen this particular female respondent as both her closed and open-ended responses illustrate the following aspects within my general analysis.

First, how the use of *both* quantitative and qualitative measuring tools, can assist in providing a truer picture of, in this instance, a person's ethnic experiences. During her interview, when asked whether she or either of her parents had had any experience of racism, she responded in the following manner: 'Don't know' for her mother; a 'Yes' for her father; and, 'No' for herself, (Q.35a, PE/R 8). However, a little further into the interview when asked whether her parents had any regrets about having to live in another country (Qs. 38, PE/R 12), the answer was 'Yes' for both parents, "because of the way in which they

were (repeatedly) treated by members of the (British) host community". These answers are interesting, particularly in the case of the mother, as the respondent then went on to qualify this response, with the following statement;

"...especially for my mother. She had a difficult time here for a number of years when she arrived, she was treated really badly by the English. From when I was little, I can remember her telling me to be careful whenever I spoke to anyone. Don't tell anyone about yourself – it only leads to trouble."

UK 2nd Gen No.22/BPP/F

Secondly, the effects of racism directed at the parent(s), but *not* at the respondent, can *still* have long-term consequences on how such an individual chooses to develop and maintain their ethnicity in the public or private sphere of their daily life. This respondent had come to shape her own ethnic identity directly as a result of her parent's but most particularly, her mother's treatment, by the host society. She had developed and practiced these protective mechanisms for so long, whereby she 'denied' to herself that she was unhappy about these issues, that only during such a retrospective analysis of her life, did she feel able to 'open up' and share her impressions regarding her ethnicity with me.

She classified herself as a British Pole, yet did not identify with the formal or public aspects of the community. According to Zebrowska (1986), this respondent (and others who also had little interest in formal aspects of the Polish community, as demonstrated in Table 6, page 261) might be seen as a sort of 'lapsed' (British) Pole, for whom allegiance to formal Polonian institutions formed part of the yardstick, against which she chose to measure Poles in the UK for their levels of maintained Polishness. It is also partly because of these kinds

of attitudes that groups such as the Amish, Mennonites, and Hassidic Jews feel forced to create geographical boundaries within which their communities live, in order to preserve their specific lifestyles, (often) against continued prejudices from the larger societies (Boyle *et al.*, 1998).

This kind of reaction to racism was not an isolated one. Many other responses were similar to this female's feelings. One respondent stated:

"I know it's because of my being Polish that I am treated differently, you know, not like everyone else. I never get the shift I want, unless *I change* with someone else....My supervisor hates anyone who isn't English - black or white".

UK 2nd Gen No.27/BPP/M

A cultural marker for Poles in America, polka dancing, is one which has become associated with a negative image, because of its roots in Polish folk culture which was practised predominantly by the 'peasant' classes who arrived in vast numbers to escape poverty and hardship in (partitioned) Poland. As a result, this along with other defamatory stereotyping such as the Polish or 'Polak' joke have steadfastly remained a representation to some American Poles (including some of my second generation respondents) of *their parents'* Polishness, who are uncomfortable about certain aspects of their Polishness, which has resulted in some of the second generation choosing *not* to participate in a public display of *their* Polishness (Dolan, 1997). This is because of the enduring negative populist imagery of (American) 'Polak' humour and lower class association of polka dancing to this day. There was a resurgence of this anti-Polish behaviour in the late 1960's when many of my second generation respondents were growing up, which depicted all Poles as having no aspirations, a blue-collar

working class background (and limited education) and an inferior peasant heritage (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994). In a nutshell, they were in effect seen as being 'crude' and 'fundamentally stupid' (Dolan, 1997: 73).

As one of my respondents mentioned earlier (page 252)⁸³, it was the (negative) association by 'Others' (Cohen, 1994) of specific elements of their Polish heritage such as the polka, which "made life very difficult when people found out that you were Polish". Such stereotyping often leads to discriminatory behaviour being directed at American Poles (Erdmans, 1998). In response to such extensive pejorative behaviour levelled at them in the 1970's American Poles brought successful lawsuits against American television companies such as ABC and several of its presenters protesting against the portrayal of Americans of Polish descent in this manner, forcing a change in the content of their comedy routines, as well launching enormous advertising drives extolling the accomplishments of famous American Poles (Dolan, 1997). Unfortunately these efforts did not prevail in overcoming the endemic nature of intolerance against American Poles, which to this day continues (Erdman, 1998).

Another prefaced her response (to Q.35a, PE/R 8) with the following assertion that she had been discriminated against, because of her ethnicity, at work:

"I wouldn't say this to anyone else, but you, you understand what it's like to be different in this country. In the place that I work, I was due for promotion. I'd put in the time, and had the seniority,..and they gave the promotion to a black woman. I was even taken aside, and told quietly, "we know that you deserved it, but you understand, it was better this way, she was always complaining about her rights. This at least should keep her quiet". [Respondent's voice faltered at this point]

⁸³ US 2nd Gen No.517/BPP/M.

She then continued [unsteadily]:

“So I waited ... another opening came up *two years* later when someone left, and still I didn't get it, even though I had seniority. *I had believed* the first excuse, but this time there wasn't even one.”

UK 2nd Gen No.52/BPP/F

Their discussions revealed that these perceptions of discriminatory behaviour as a result of their ethnicity, were common within all sub-groups. For example, a male PFO respondent stated:

“Working for the council, I have seen a lot over the years. The Indians have a strong lobby and voice, it has now become really difficult to prove that you aren't discriminating against them ... so as a result, they - in my department anyway - have always been in line for advancement. If they deserve it, fine. But why at my expense, so ... I'm going nowhere, and ten years ago all my qualifications were considered a sure way of moving up, now they're getting me nothing.”

UK 2nd Gen No.216/PFO/M

A PMO respondent also reported that her British father had experienced much racial taunting because of his Polish wife, saying:

“There was always a lot of conflict at home because of mum being Polish. I think dad would've been happier if it wasn't mentioned in public, After all that he'd been through. But I thought differently - and paid the price.”

She continues:

“I think I got 'into trouble' at work because I was always proudly telling everyone about my Polish side, and my English friends used to get upset, thinking that I was talking *them* down. But how could I, *I was half English*, wasn't I?

But they would say to me, we don't see you as being foreign, so stop saying that you're different to us - you're one of us. You're not like the others (them b*****). I think it was really this sort of thing which made me more dogged about asserting my Polishness. But I began to slowly notice that I was excluded in any special activities, and office perks. Some friends, eh. My dad was right after all.”

UK 2nd Gen No. 106/PMO/F

When I presented my figures for self-reported racism earlier, the UK and US PFO sub-groups showed contrary results, with the UK figure being the highest of all three sub-groups, at 50% (11; n=22), and the US PFO figure being 22% (2; n=9), the lowest of all three sub-groups. These differences serve to highlight and therefore explain the structural differences within each culture. As I discussed earlier (page 46), the British notion of the 'Other' is intrinsic in identifying, or rather constructing differences between *outsiders*, and the British collective. This was historically shaped to delineate colonial descendents, within the Commonwealth expanse (Cohen, 1994).

However, the invention of the British Nationality Act of 1948, further served, as Cohen puts it (1994: 18), 'to bolster the myth of a racially exclusive British identity'. This Act introduced the status of a 'Citizen of the UK and Colonies', which was distinguished from the older category of 'British subject' (who were still allowed the right of abode in the UK); and, also from 'British subject without citizenship'. The last category applied, in the main, to people from India and Pakistan. What this meant was that from that point onwards people entering the UK from these two countries were subject to stringent immigration controls.

However, even though changes in British politics, such as entry to the EEC and certain changes in world events regarding Britain and its (now) former dominions, as well as continued black immigration to the UK, may have brought Britain face to face with the inevitable reality of what British identity now meant collectively, the racialised notion of *other* in British culture nevertheless persisted regardless of the content of its population (Cohen, 1994: 21). Bernie

Grant's now famous faux pas in October 1993, when in expressing his outrage regarding the ongoing racism towards in this instance West Indians, by suggesting that black people be given the option to return to their countries of origin with assistance from the government, was deemed a political folly. It had all outward, albeit unintentional, appearances of resurrecting Powellite 'policies' of the 1960's (1994: 66), but did nevertheless, underscore the ongoing problems experienced by such communities in the UK.

So in British society many who are considered 'Others', are treated with the same disdain, whether they be 'Black' or 'White', just as long as there is some sort of markers which delineate the 'Others' from the British. Such markers in the Polish community are of course the surname and the membership of formal (public) ethnic organisations. In the case of the former, from my discussions with PFO respondents it was made very clear to me that their experiences of racism were, at times, directly as a result of their Polish surnames. This I believe explains the high response in self-reported experiences of racism, within my group of PFO respondents (Table, 5.1, page 241). Several of them said the following to me regarding racism and their impression of the British:

"It's always been hard on me having a Polish name, I think maybe harder than for people with two Polish parents. I don't speak the language and that, but my name makes me appear to be different. It's why I got bullied at school. People say they're only kids, but they grow with the same hatred into adults, and teach their own kids to hate."

UK 2nd Gen No204/PFO/M

Another put it this way:

"You know that someone actually said to me [incredulously],
- "Why don't you foreigners go back to your own country",
My dad worked hard his whole life here, and all he got for it

was me being victimised for my Polishness.”

UK 2nd Gen No 213/PFO/M

While yet another noted:

“You know, white or black, it's all the same. As soon as they *know* you are different, everything changes. You see it every time there's a World Cup game, they all come out with this patriotism crap. The stuff they kept on writing about the Poles in the papers was really sick, and, it had very little to do with football, didn't it? I don't think they really care about themselves they just like an excuse to hate the non-Brits. If they were really proud of being British, they wouldn't keep on causing fights abroad and getting thrown out of all these countries.”

UK 2nd Gen No 206/PMO/F

I believe that Waters' (1990) discussion on *symbolic ethnicity* may be appropriate not just in her explanations for 'American ethnics', but also to my UK Poles. *Symbolic ethnicity* offers one viable explanation as to why people choose to maintain one aspect of their Polish heritage above another. Another is of course that they choose elements of Polishness which 'fit' into their lifestyle, but I maintain that these two are really connected, in that people may choose (*or not*) to maintain or project certain elements of their ethnicity precisely because they do (*not*) fit into those lifestyles which they wish to present to the outside world (Goffman, 1963).

The overall level of self-reported racism for my US respondents was of course 39% (13/33), but because the individual resulting clusters were too small, it is not really possible to infer a trend (statistically) from the US sub-groups, especially when the figure is such as the one for the US PFO (2; n=9, 22%).

What can be shown, however, is the nature of maintained ethnicity in a climate where Poles in America are publicly ostracised purely on the basis of their

ethnicity. Its continued presence is regrettably a throwback to earlier highly popular concepts of eugenics, where notions of inferior races were rooted in biological phenotypes. Nowadays it is evidenced by its widespread reach in the form of institutional racism which shapes the everyday lives of Poles in relation to their treatment in competition for economic resources with other ethnic groups (Erdmans, 1998). Polish stereotypes had been used extensively in the 1910s and 1920s, as a rationale for denying Poles both job promotion and entrance into the United States and resurfaced in the 1970s as a racially intolerant response to the Poles' overall economic success (Greeley, 1981: 143).

I remember being quite shocked when I first started to notice how frequently pejorative references were made about Poles in popular American culture, whilst I was carrying out my US based research. Chat shows such as 'The David Letterman Show', and 'Jay Leno, on the Tonight Show', which are broadcast on a network basis and are therefore seen by literally millions of Americans. It is evident from this that the efforts made by American Poles to effect changes in the overall negative perception of themselves as an ethnic group (discussed earlier on pages 279-280) were unsuccessful. Erdmans (1998: 224, & 33, 47, 52, 192) gives much space in her book concerning the continued defamation of Poles in America. The continued use of this type of negative material in populist culture only serves to perpetuate these racist beliefs.

I have to say that there is much that I agree with in Waters' writings. She offers on many levels a refreshing look at 'White' ethnicity in America, whilst introducing a number of sound arguments with which I find resonance. However,

I disagree quite strongly, on the basis of my American second generation respondents' experiences, and certain themes which occurred throughout my discussions with them, with her theory that (1990: 147):

an ethnic identity is something that does not matter much in everyday life. ... *It does not matter whether you will be subject to discrimination. ... It matters only in voluntary ways* - in celebrating holidays with a special twist, cooking a special ethnic meal, ... remembering a special phrase or two in a foreign language. [My italics]

For all her perceptive understanding of how people with an ethnic heritage adapt their lifestyles, quite often by choice (1990: 147), Waters nevertheless appears to have missed the point completely regarding the position of Polish Americans, whom she actually discusses at length, and their negative perception by others. She continues, in reference to Polish Americans that 'the nature of being a Pole in America is as I have described it throughout this book - *lacking in social costs*, providing enjoyment, and chosen voluntarily' [My italics, p.157].

Waters concentrates on the minutiae of visible physical attributes as one of her explanations as to why white minority ethnic Americans are able to choose elements of their ethnicity and why non-white groups are not granted the luxury of choice. This viewpoint is a particularly pertinent example (given that the author is actually discussing white ethnicity) of my discussion in Chapter Two, on the existing literature on 'race' and ethnicity. As I maintain, the usefulness in using the experiences of non-white ethnic groups in order to understand those of all sections of all white ethnic groups has limitations within the extant literatures since they are dominated by the 'race' paradigm which tends to pose issues in terms of blacks in opposition to all whites, and when used, results in such

assumptions as those stated by Waters above, whereby all ethnic groups, even 'invisible' ones such as Poles or the Irish are assumed to have few problems as a result of their ethnicity simply because they are white (Hickman, 1995).

However, Waters rightly maintains that ethnicity is a 'flexible' commodity where choice does factor into the (voluntary) practice of ethnic customs on an infrequent basis for many white middle-class Americans, but in ways of course which exclude non-white and Hispanic Americans (Waters, 1990: 156). In part therefore her argument certainly does fit the profile of some of my US respondents (and of some of my UK second generation respondents), This is especially the case in the way in which the celebration of 'National Parade Days' are seen to be a non-threatening mode of publicly maintaining some element of one's ethnicity since the celebration involves a passive group activity which often includes many people from other ethnic groups (Schneider, 1990; Romanucci-Ross, 1995; Erdmans, 1998).

Such popular aspects of formal ethnicity maintenance as the Parade Day, are singularly unique to American society. Another example which is also fairly commonplace is the allegiance to (ethnic) organisations, as was borne out in my research (Table 6, page 261). When asked whether the respondent belonged to any (in the US - fraternal) Polish organisations (Q.28a, PE/R 6), the overall responses showed a significantly higher membership for my US respondents, than for my UK respondents. For US respondents the response rate for 'Yes' was 58% (19; n=33), whereas for UK respondents the response rate for 'Yes' was only 23% (26; n=112).

These factors notwithstanding, Waters' (1990) notion does not however fit for instance the following three respondents' experiences, in claiming that the difference between non-white and white ethnic groups in America is such that there can be no real (shared) understanding for white Americans. Waters maintains therefore that the experiences of non-white ethnic groups in America are crucial in order to appreciate the structural discrimination levelled at these groups, directly as a result of their distinctly 'different' appearance (Ibid.).

In reference to her last quote (page 286), it is a dangerous precedent to set in assuming that the experiences of all white minority groups are homogeneous. For example, I found that those US respondents who lived in a Polish enclave such as Hamtramck were more likely to embrace many more elements of their Polishness as a result of their positive environment. Whereas respondents who did not live within the 'confines' of a geographical ethnic enclave, and felt where they did live was a "non-Polish friendly area"⁸⁴ were more likely to choose elements of their Polishness which required less maintainment such as public gatherings etc. *precisely* because of their environment (Neils Conzen, 1979).

Here are some comments made by my US respondents, to illustrate the above points:

"I am always careful about telling people who I am. I remember when I was in elementary school, and we had the 'Bring and Show Day', where we had to bring bits from home and stand in front of the whole class, to tell them about where we were from. The room went quiet when I started talking about my Polish family. After that I was often called "Polack".

US 2nd Gen No.502/BPP/M

⁸⁴ Quotation from US 2nd Gen No.502/BPP/M.

Another, a female PMO declared:

“You know about the Polish joke, don't you? The Polack thing?
Yeah, well, at work they kinda think it's funny to play with it.
Yeah, well, I don't think it's funny. I told a guy once, hey, would
you like it if some-one called you Dago or Wop? They didn't
understand, 'cos it's never happened to them. You see?”

US 2nd Gen No.602/PMO/F

Yet another respondent stated:

“I don't want anything to do with my Polish side. It's very
difficult being different in this country ... everyone always
wants to know where you're from. I say nothing about my life,
I just tell people that I am an American. After all, we really
didn't have that much to do with the other Poles.”

US 2nd Gen No.702/PFO/M

The following US female explained her selected Polish ethnicity maintenance:

“I like to do Polish stuff when I'm at mom's but I don't
really bother just for me and my husband, even though
he likes all that Polish stuff. It's different now, a lot
of the things that we did as kids don't seem all that
relevant now. So, yeah, I do some stuff, occasionally.”

US 2nd Gen No.502/BPP/F

Morawska (1977: 67) found in her study of the Boston Polish American community, that ‘the low image of American Poles [also] increases their ethnic self-consciousness and that this effects the young community members in particular’. Erdmans (1998: 222) found that she became selective about whom to tell of her Polish heritage whilst carrying out her research because she was aware of the negative connotations this information brought with it, and not just from outside Polonia. This pervasive low image impacted on the way in which post-Solidarity immigrants came to view the established Polonians, and in her dealings with them Erdmans (Ibid.:224) found them to be rather disparaging regarding established Polonia).

My final point (before moving on to the final section of this chapter namely my findings regarding health), is that it became evident during my qualitative discussions regarding self reported instances of racism with both case study groups, that first and second generation respondents felt the original migratory experience of some of the first generation, had impacted on the lives and resulting well-being and quality of life of some of the second as well as the first generation. Since this deals with aspects of health in relation to 'racism', it therefore segues neatly as an introduction here (to be more fully discussed later), prior to my next section under discussion which are data on 'health'.

Health Profiles of First and Second Generation Poles.

The Health And Lifestyles Survey (HALS) was a very large undertaking, of which certain elements, upon reflection, I decided would be unreasonable to 'demand' of my prospective respondents in order to attempt to reproduce it in its entirety⁸⁵. This was especially the case for my UK first generation sample whose ages ranged from 63 to 87. I chose to limit the scope of questioning to those sections I felt would not, in conjunction with my other questionnaires, be too taxing, but which would hopefully cover those areas that I wanted to address⁸⁶. As it turned out, certain sections have not been utilised much in the final analysis for a variety of reasons, the most obvious one being of course that I, like other researchers, have gathered more data than I can readily analyse in detail. A certain amount of skill is required in 'sifting' out those elements which are of

⁸⁵ Those elements which formed additional requirements on the part of the respondents such as standard healthcare measurements undertaken by a nurse, and self completion booklets etc. were naturally not part of my remit.

⁸⁶ Please refer to Appendix B, for the full list of HALS questions used (p.p. H&LS 1-12).

relevance to the central concerns of this thesis.

I also made certain additions to the various question-sets obtained from HALS, which often comprised just one addition per set, as in the section which was related to respondents' beliefs on what they thought might be the causes of a range of major ailments such as asthma, heart problems, depression, etc. My addition was invariably whether they felt that 'cultural stress and lifestyle' might in some way be a precipitator of the illness in question.

HALS was funded by the Health Promotion Research Trust, and its aims were, that the '...principal objective is to examine the relationship of lifestyles, behaviours and circumstances to the physical and mental health of a large representative sample of the British population' (Cox *et al.*, 1987: Introduction).

The total interviewed in the HALS survey was 9,003. The proportion of this sample which corresponded to the age range of my first generation UK Poles was 1,895. The proportion of this sample which corresponded to the age range of my second generation UK Poles (whose age range was 25 – 50), was 4,276. Any comparisons that I will be making, are based on these two sub-samples. These sub-samples also at times have to be transformed and broken down into smaller portions when matched with my own. Specifically, rather than look at the sample as a whole, I sometimes wished to see whether there was any variation in the response to certain questions, between the HALS sample and my sample, for varying age groups such as 25 – 30, 31 – 40, and 41 – 50; or alternatively, 25 – 37 and 38 – 50, rather than just looking at responses from all respondents aged 25 – 50. I shall indicate where I have done this, when the need arises.

Because of the relatively small size of my first generation UK sample, I will be making comparisons using overall responses (i.e. not disaggregated by sex).

The format in which I will introduce these figures is to show always first the relevant first generation results with the HALS age equivalent sample results alongside or directly underneath. I will then introduce the second generation results for the same question, together with more for the UK second generation comparison group⁸⁷. I will be indicating a breakdown of positive to negative responses only, all others (e.g. 'don't know') will not feature in the following data presentation (except in Table 8), and any (percentage) discrepancies noticed are as a result of this.⁸⁸

In this way, I am able to make visible and establish (in the whole sample) any differences and/or similarities in patterns of responses not only between the two first generation samples, but also those between the first and second generations.

⁸⁷ If however, I have derived my results by using a computerised format of HALS, the results for 2nd generation Poles and the equivalent (age) HALS sample will be shown as one cross-tabulation. In this instance, '1.00' refers to my sample and '0.00' to the second generation HALS equivalent sample, and where so used are labelled.

⁸⁸ I carried out the appropriate statistical test for 2x2 tables on all the following tables, by comparing both the first generation Poles with the HALS (1st Gen) comparative sample, and, the second generation Poles with the HALS (2nd Gen) comparative sample in Tables 8 – 8.6 inclusive. P=0.000 was found to be the case for all but one of these tables).

Table 8: Is It Ever People’s Fault If They Get Ill?⁸⁹

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS comparison group</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>NO:</u>	58.3 / 14	33.6 / 633
<u>YES:</u>	37.5 / 9	54.0 / 1040
<u>D/K:</u>	0 / 0	11.7 / 221

(Chi-square = 8.79, 2 d.f., P=0.012)

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS comparison group</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>NO:</u>	43.7 / 45	28.7 / 1227
<u>YES:</u>	45.6 / 47	65.2 / 2787

(Continuity correction Chi-square = 13.31, 1 d.f., P=0.000)

Within the same section, the following are a selection from a range of possible responses to the question in HALS (Q.1b, H&LS 1) which is a follow-on question, from the one used in Table 8. The respondent was asked (unprompted), ‘Why do you think that it is their fault if they get ill?’, and those responses most frequently given by the respondents were grouped together, totalling fifteen in all. I am showing just six of these in this format, as I believe this is a sufficient amount to show any trends or patterns between samples⁹⁰.

Table 8.1: Stress

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	12.5 / 3	1.3 / 24
<u>Answer not given:</u>	87.5 / 21	98.7 / 1871

(Continuity correction Chi-square = 14.22, 1 d.f., P=0.000)

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	39.8 / 41	3.1 / 134
<u>Answer not given:</u>	55.3 / 57	96.9 / 4142

(Continuity correction Chi-square = 363.63, 1 d.f., P=0.000)

⁸⁹ This is the first question on my (modified) HALS section of the questionnaire sets.
⁹⁰ Page 39, of the *Health And Lifestyles Survey* Users Manual (SN:2218).

Table 8.2: *Use of Illegal Drugs*

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	54.2 / 13	1.6 / 31
<u>Answer not given:</u>	45.8 / 11	98.4 / 1864
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 268.95, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	65.0 / 67	2.3 / 99
<u>Answer not given:</u>	28.6 / 31	30.1 / 4177
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 1126.79, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

Table 8.3: *Alcohol*

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	37.5 / 9	9.3 / 176
<u>Answer not given:</u>	62.5 / 15	90.7 / 1719
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 18.52, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	46.6 / 48	10.5 / 448
<u>Answer not given:</u>	48.5 / 50	89.5 / 3828
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 137.46, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

Table 8.4: *Smoking*

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	37.5 / 9	9.2 / 174
<u>Answer not given:</u>	62.5 / 15	90.8 / 1721
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 18.87, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	46.6 / 48	14.6 / 624
<u>Answer not given:</u>	48.5 / 50	85.4 / 3652
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 84.50, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

Table 8.5: *Lack of hygiene/cleanliness*

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	29.2 / 7	0.4 / 7
<u>Answer not given:</u>	70.8 / 17	96.6 / 1888
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 233.07, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	47.6 / 49	0.3 / 12
<u>Answer not given:</u>	47.6 / 49	99.7 / 4264
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 1686.24, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

Table 8.6: *Temperament*

	<u>1st Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	45.8 / 11	8.5 / 162
<u>Answer not given:</u>	54.2 / 13	91.5 / 1733
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 35.75, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

	<u>2nd Gen UK Poles</u>	<u>HALS equiv. Respondents</u>
	% / Nos.	% / Nos.
<u>Answer given:</u>	43.7 / 45	9.6 / 409
<u>Answer not given:</u>	51.5 / 53	90.4 / 3867
(Continuity correction Chi-square = 132.23, 1 d.f., P=0.000)		

What is immediately apparent when looking at both sets of responses (both mine and HALS), is that many beliefs have been maintained, from one generation to the next. This is evident from the start with question one (in Table 8). The majority of Polish first generation respondents (58.3%) stated (against 33.6% of the equivalently aged HALS population) that, in general, they do not believe it to be people's fault when they become ill. The equivalent second generation figures show a similar pattern but with less of a differential (15%), with 43.7% for my sample and 28.7% for the HALS second generation equivalent one. I offer the

conjecture that the higher rates for both my first and second generation samples are as a result of the horrendous experiences had by the first because of WWII. In this instance, the Polish tendency is to assume less fault in a person, if they are ill, where it is deemed that illness is beyond the locus of control for the individual (Stacey, 1988). With 15% less of second generation Poles giving a 'No' response, this may indicate that they are heading towards the indigenous samples' relatively more intolerant attitudes towards blaming others for their illnesses.

However, when looking at the subsequent tables, several interesting aspects are evident. The only response that really 'bucks' the trend, as it were, is that for 'stress'. Whereas there is a slightly increased figure from the first generation HALS comparison group (1.3%) respondents compared with those from the second generation HALS comparison group (3.1%), in the case of the Polish samples, the first generation figure is 12.5% compared to an emphatic 39.8% of the second generation Polish sample. Not only is this figure far greater than the Polish first generation one, but it is substantially greater than the HALS second generation comparison group figure. It is evident from this particular response, that responses for this item mirror neither those beliefs held by the first generation Polish parents, or indeed those held by the respondents' UK peers⁹¹.

The remaining examples appear to indicate a trend in maintained beliefs from one generation to the next, although in varying degrees. For the Polish second

⁹¹ One could say also, that the figure mirrors a combination both of 'Polishness' and 'being younger'.

generation sample (Tables 8.3, 8.5, and 8.6) show that these beliefs clearly reflect *parental* first generation beliefs, and with the HALS second generation sample doing likewise. Also for responses regarding ‘use of illegal drugs’ and ‘smoking’ (Tables 8.2, and 8.4), Polish second generation responses mirror those of the Polish first generation sample when compared against those of the respective HALS first and second generation figures, once again indicating a trend in maintained religious beliefs from one generation to the next, possibly as Braito (1988) found in matters of worldly excesses that constituted immoral influences and choices, and sins of the flesh for retribution which Hornsby-Smith (1991) found to be was eternal damnation.

Before I move on to the next section, I wish to introduce the first of my own (previously mentioned) additions, namely a question relating to the influence of ‘cultural stress and lifestyle’. I should point out that most sections of HALS are designed to extract answers in such a way to elicit beliefs held by each individual and thus (attempt to) eliminate externally imposed conceptual notions of health and well-being⁹². There is of course always the concern that this may result in fewer positive responses (Burgess, 1986), especially if those being interviewed are not completely sure about the ‘meaning’ of the question. For example, I have several second generation respondents who after responding to the question in Table 8 offered no (additional) examples of what they thought might be causes of peoples’ ill health (4.8%, 5/104).

⁹² I included, for my own personal benefit, the ‘Do Not Prompt’ instruction on the copy of the HALS Users’ Manual which I used to create my own modified HALS questionnaire. This was to remind *me* not to try and influence my own respondents.

This notwithstanding, the general premise of not prompting responses proved to be very enlightening⁹³, as can be seen in this next set of figures (Table 8.7) when I disaggregated this response by parental group.

Table 8.7 Cultural Stress and Lifestyle Question, showing those who said ‘yes’, disaggregated by parental sub-groups, for 2nd generation respondents.

<u>Category:</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Cultural Stress and Lifestyle ⁹⁴ :	12.5%(2) (n=16)	33.3%(7) (n=21)	51.4%(35) (n=74)	39.3%(44) n=111

What is interesting here is that almost half of the respondents from the sub-group ‘both parents Polish’ indicated that they felt that the stress of maintaining a cultural lifestyle (might) make people ill.

I then cross-tabulated this against the main question from this section (Table 8, Question 1) to see how many of those (from BPP) who felt that cultural lifestyle might have an impact, also said ‘YES’ to believing that it was sometimes) peoples’ own fault for getting ill. 57% (20; n=35)) of those (BPP) who said ‘yes’ to ‘cultural stress and lifestyle’ also said ‘yes’ to Q.1, being one of their beliefs that it’s (Polish) people’s fault that they may become ill.

However, 42% (15;n=35) of those who saw cultural lifestyle as possibly of relevance, said the opposite, in that they *did not* think that, in general, it was people’s fault that they became ill, but still thought that maintaining their Polish culture, namely seen as (cultural) stress, might precipitate some form of illness.

⁹³ This particular cross-tabulation uses 111 UK respondents, although this does not appear to have affected the overall outcomes from the same cross-tab carried out using 104 respondents.
⁹⁴ This cross-tabulation generated the following test result for a 2x3 table. Chi-square = 7.35, with 2 degrees of freedom, P=0.025.

Because of their relatively small sub-sample sizes, I was unable to break down the other two sub-groups and attempt to identify whether there might be any notable difference between the three sub-groups when looking at, quite simply, what (they thought) made one ill. [This is one of the main reasons why I added the additional respondents, which unfortunately were all from the BPP sub-group⁹⁵.] What I can say however with some certainty is,

48% (35/73) of BPP respondents,
13% (2/16) of PMO respondents,
33% (7/21) of PFO respondents,

gave some sort of response, all offered stress, as that specifically caused by regularly maintaining a (Polish) cultural lifestyle, in their belief as a mitigating factor which caused one to engender one's own ill health. This sum total of (positive) responses (44), represents 39.3% of the whole UK sample⁹⁶. It is reasonable to infer therefore, that respondents who have two Polish parents, clearly associate a much more heightened sense of hardship with maintaining their Polishness, and subsequently adapting it to their current environment (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974). I will discuss the relationship between parental expectations' and the perceived effect on respondents' well-being when I present my discussion for these 'health' related data.

I would now like to turn to perceptions of health with regards to assumed illness in ten years' time. The question asked was:

⁹⁵ There are always various problems associated in assembling white minority ethnic group members as potential respondents, given that they are 'anonymous' within the general population. Of course, once females marry, and carry a different surname, it becomes even more difficult to locate such individuals, especially if the research location is unknown to the researcher. One option is having to rely on gatekeepers, refer to p.p.164-166 re their discussion.

⁹⁶ Just to remind the reader, this set of calculations is based on the UK sample size of 112 respondents.

How likely is it that healthy women/men of your age might develop a *serious* disease over the next 10 years? (Q.3, H&LS 3)

The results for both first generation-related samples were as follows⁹⁷:

Table 9 Responses for both 1st Generation related samples, asking about the likelihood of a serious illness in the next 10 years⁹⁸

<u>Categories:</u> <u>Sample</u>	<u>1st Gen UK Sample</u>		<u>HALS Equivalent</u>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Very likely	11 / 92.0%	6 / 50.0%	27.0%	18.0%
Fairly likely	1 / 8.0%	5 / 42.0%	47.0%	50.0%
Fairly unlikely	0	0	11.0%	12.0%
Very unlikely	0	0	5.0%	3.8%
Don't know	0	0	9.8%	16.0%
Unanswered	0	1 / 8.0%	0.2%	0.2%
Total:	12 100%	12 100%	100%	100%

⁹⁷ For easier reading, I will only give both totals *and* percentages for the Polish 1st generation sample. The reader is reminded that the equivalent HALS sample size for the same aged population is 1895, and 4276 for the HALS second generation same aged sub-sample. I believe that my (much) smaller sample size requires this delineation, for the easier reference. These two sets of calculations are based on the UK sample sizes of 24 (first) and 104 (second) generation respondents.

⁹⁸ For the first generation UK sample: Chi-square = 5.14, 2 d.f., P=0.077. The comparisons for each sex with the HALS sample are both significant (P=0.000).

The results for both second generation samples were as follows:

Table 9.1 Responses for both 2nd Generation related samples, asking about the likelihood of a serious illness in the next 10 years⁹⁹

<u>Categories:</u> <u>Sample</u>	<u>2nd Gen UK Sample</u>		<u>HALS Equivalent</u>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Very likely	12 / 20.0%	3 / 7.0%	13.0%	12.0%
Fairly likely	15 / 25.0%	12 / 27.0%	48.4%	57.0%
Fairly unlikely	24 / 41.0%	23 / 51.0%	32.0%	26.0%
Very unlikely	8 / 14.0%	6 / 13.0%	5.0%	4.0%
Don't know	0	0	0.7%	0.8%
Unanswered	0	1 / 2.0%	0.9%	0.2%
TOTAL:	59 100%	45 100%	100%	100%

A brief observation reveals that only one (female second generation) respondent across both first and second generation Polish samples did not answer this question at all. Also, unlike the first generation, second generation respondents' responses do not presuppose the likelihood of a serious illness in the next ten years. As Blaxter (1987: 132) states, 'it has been demonstrated before that ideas about the cause of disease are affected by personal experience', and in keeping with this, my first generation respondents were quite clear as to the effects that WWII had had on them. For many of them, their hardship(s) had defined their lives and they believed had manifested itself in a variety of their ongoing physical problems. Their expectations of ill health in the future are in keeping with Braito's (1988) study on first generation Poles, whose respondents were found to have

⁹⁹ For the second generation UK sample: Chi-square = 5.25, 4 d.f., P=0.263. The comparisons for each sex with the HALS sample are both significant (P<0.01).

lower life satisfaction when compared with an indigenous sample of elderly English respondents. It seems reasonable to suggest that on this basis, the somatisation of these life events were one of the explanations why their responses to the above question are unequivocal¹⁰⁰.

This may also provide an explanation why, when compared to a same aged HALS group of respondents, an overwhelming proportion of Polish first generation males (92%) and half of all Polish first generation females (50%) responses are to be found in the top 'very likely' category, whereas the HALS equivalents are 27% and 18% respectively.

Finally, I looked again at the above responses, but this time controlling for social class, (but once again not by sex). *The Health and Lifestyles Survey* upheld the existing trends showing that the higher the social class, the greater the likelihood that perceptions were that there was less likelihood of a serious illness in ten years time. My first generation respondents on the other hand, appeared once again to uphold Braitto's (1988) contention based on her study of Polish first generation Poles. Braitto found that although her sample of elderly Poles were better off (in both status and social class) than the equivalent British sample in her research, their health, as well as (in this case) their perception of their own health, was worse. In my first generation Poles sample, only one is located in social class I, so therefore I looked at where those respondents who were located in social class II were, in relation to their responses for this question on a serious illness in ten years. If they were to at all mirror the above trends, one

¹⁰⁰ This is in keeping with earlier research of mine, which looked at the manifestation of illness, seen by (these) first generation respondents as a result of harsh life events, e.g. forced flight, racism, and accommodation problems with the host society, Staniewicz, 1994.

might expect to see a similar pattern. This was not the case. The following table (Table 9.2) shows the spread of responses in my first generation sample and the HALS first generation equivalent sub-sample, by age cross-tabulated by social class. This table shows Social Classes I and II for both samples, but only Social Class III_n for the HALS sub-sample, as there were no first generation Poles with occupations in this social class. Also, for the purposes of this example, I felt that there was no need to give the responses for all the social classes, (i.e. I-V) since I am attempting to illustrate the response for first generation in relation to their social class, and for that reason, looking at (primarily) the two highest classes.

Table 9.2 1st Generation Poles and HALS (age) equivalent sub-sample; respondents from Social Classes I and II, looking at likelihood of illness in next 10 yrs, by occupation.¹⁰¹

Categories:	1 st Generation UK Sample:		HALS Equivalent Sub-Sample:			
	CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS I	CLASS II	C	III _n
Very likely	1 100.0%	9 75.0%	19 23.2%	68 18.1%	48	20%
Fairly likely	0	3 25.0%	43 52.4%	203 54.1%	133	55%
Fairly unlikely	0	0	8 9.8%	48 12.8%	31	13%
Very unlikely	0	0	2 2.4%	13 3.5%	4	1%
Don't know	0	0	9 11.0%	42 11.2%	27	11%
Unanswered	0	0	1 1.2%	1 0.3%		0

As we can see, the distribution of responses when looked at by social class, is different in both samples. (Looking at the ‘working population’ only, this results in my total sample of Poles being twenty, since the remaining four were full-time mothers who were never in employment). But even though my first generation sample is small, looking at the above figures the following way assists us greatly in seeing the differences in the respective responses. By aggregating first and

¹⁰¹ These cross-tabulations generated the following chi-square statistics. For my Polish sample, Chi-square = 0.33, with 1 d.f., P=0.569. and for the HALS sub-sample, the chi-square statistic was 6.55, with 1 d.f., P=0.767.

second class responses, the outcome indicates two interesting factors. Firstly, in this new aggregated format, 50% (10) of my whole Polish sample are located in the response category for 'very likely', and secondly, these 10 correspond to 77% of 'all working' respondents in Social Classes I and II.

The HALS equivalent sub-sample figures for Social Classes I and II were 87 in the 'very likely' category, representing just 19.0% of these respondents in Social Classes I and II. Social Class I and II respondents' responses for the 'fairly likely' category for my Polish group were the remaining 23% (3), as there were no responses for this group in any of the other categories. The figure for the HALS sub-sample for the 'fairly likely' category comprised 54% (246) of Social Classes I and II. The comparison of first generation Poles and the HALS equivalent sub-sample for social classes I and II gives a Chi-square statistic of 26.3 with 5 degrees of freedom ($P=0.000$), hence there is some indication therefore of a relationship between the perception of assumed worse health, and the particular experiences of first generation Poles (Jagucki, 1983; Cox, 1986; Hopkins & Bahl, 1993; Braitto, 1988).

Table 10 (page 305) is a series of tables placed together and shows self-reported first generation responses only, for selected illnesses, and indicating again just totals for the first generation for easier reading. There is quite some variation between the first generation Polish respondents' responses, and their HALS counterpart. This may indicate the very different life experiences had by these two groups, especially since the Poles, both males and females, have recorded consistently 'more illness' responses for this range of self-reported illnesses.

Table 10 1st generation Poles and HALS (age) equivalent sub-sample
Respondents, self-reported selected illnesses

ILLNESS TYPE:	First Generation UK Sample¹⁰²		HALS Equivalent Sub-sample	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Rheumatism Arthritis	3 25.0%	6 50.0%	11.7%	14.2%
Heart Disease - Angina	1 8.3%	4 33.3%	14.3%	12.8%
Migraine, - Chronic	1 8.3%	4 33.3%	0	0.4%
Back Trouble	2 16.7%	0	1.9%	3.5%
Hi blood Pressure	3 25.0%	4 33.3%	6.7%	9.3%
Nervous Diseases	0	0	2.4%	1.2%
Depression etc	0	3 25.0%	0.2%	1.2%

Although these figures represent relatively small numbers, the Polish first generation female response for ‘Depression’ (25%) is much higher than their HALS counterparts. Braitto (1988) also found higher rates of self-reported depression in her sample of first generation Poles, but for both men and women. It is in keeping with health literature that women tend to acknowledge illness more whilst men tend not to admit ill health, (Bowling, 1991; Curren and Stacey, 1977).

¹⁰² These sets of figures have been calculated using all 24 UK 1st generation respondents. This comprises (as illustrated on page 191) 12 males and 12 females.

Table 10.1 2nd Generation Poles and HALS (age) equivalent sub-sample respondents, reporting parents' illnesses

Illness Type	2 nd Gen UK Sample ¹⁰³	HALS Equiv Sub-sample ¹⁰⁴
Rheumatism Arthritis 1	35 33.7%	860 20.1%
Heart Disease - Angina 2	51 49.0%	1217 28.5%
Migraine, - Chronic 3	25 24.0%	348 8.1%
Back Trouble 4	24 23.1%	535 12.5%
Hi blood Pressure 5	68 65.4%	870 20.3%
Asthma 6	12 11.5%	232 5.4%
Severe Depression 7	17 16.3%	356 8.3%
Chronic Bronchitis 8	23 22.1%	564 13.2%
Stomach, Digestive 9	29 27.9%	625 14.6%
Piles, or H'roids 10	19 18.3%	464 10.9%
Stroke 11	23 22.1%	428 10.0%

The above cross-tabulations generated the following Continuity correction Chi-square results (1 d.f.)
.....

- 1 10.63, P=0.001

3 30.94, P=0.000

5 119.72, P=0.000

7 7.39, P=0.007

9 13.05, P=0.000

11 14.83, P=0.000
- 2 19.91, P=0.000

4 9.25, P=0.002

6 6.10, P=0.014

8 6.22, P=0.013

10 4.96, P=0.026

These figures in Table 10.1, showing second generation respondents reporting their parents' illnesses are in many respects quite different to those in Table 10. I will now be discussing these differences in detail, as well as offering explanations, both from extant literature and my own research, in my analysis of

¹⁰³ These sets of figures have all been calculated using 104 UK 2nd generation respondents. I am only showing the 'Yes' responses for my sample as well as for the HALS sub-sample.
¹⁰⁴ HALS does not differentiate between parents. Therefore I have presented both sets as a collective figure. The equivalent HALS figure for the same age sub-sample is 4276.

these data regarding health.

Briefly looking at second generation behavioural patterns, such as smoking and drinking, my responses generated the following results. The *Diet, Lifestyle and Health in Northern Ireland Survey*, from which my behavioural measuring tool was derived, generated a figure for smoking for males of 37.8%, controlling for broad social class (non-manual, manual, and unemployed) and age (adjusted, since these figures, like the *GHS* ones were for ages 16-59; whereas my UK sample population was 25-50).¹⁰⁵ Their figure for females, with the same controls, was 35.7%. These two figures were for regular smokers.¹⁰⁶ In comparison my second generation Poles had the following figures: 27% for males, and 20% for Polish females. Therefore this lifestyle trend is lower for my respondents, especially for the Polish females.

The comparative figures for drinking, once again observing the same controls, are as follows. My respondents' figures for once/week were 4.8% for males, and 8.2% for females. The equivalent '*Diet, Health & Lifestyle*' figures were 35.4% for males, and 17.9% for females. However, in the category more than once per week, my figures were 41.7% for males, and 40.8% for females, with the equivalent survey figures coming out at 23.5 % for males, and 41.6% for females.

Although other areas of second generation health did not differ that much from the equivalent HALS sub-sample in broad terms, it is unknown whether these

¹⁰⁵ *Diet, Lifestyle and Health in Northern Ireland Survey*, p.29, Tables 3.1, 3.2, & 3.3.

¹⁰⁶ Since I only had 1 'occasional' smoker, I did not feel it of any value to present this.

figures will change as they get older.

However, what was of interest were responses to the following questions, when compared with a HALS equivalent second generation sample. Levels of stress were recorded as follows for my sample: 39.7% of males (25/63) and 65.3% of females (32/49) said 'Yes' to stress. The HALS equivalent figures were: 44.5% for males, and 44.0% for females.

The next set of figures are from one of my own 'cultural' additions, which is not part of the standard HALS question-set. In response to a question (Q.4j, H&LS 5) on the likelihood of 'severe depression' as a result of the category 'Family /Cultural Problems', the responses were as follows: 36.5% (23; n=63) of second generation males, and 42.9% (21; n=49) of second generation females, reported 'Yes', that there was a likelihood that such problems could lead to severe depression.

I mentioned earlier, the recurrent theme regarding the impact on the second generation due to parents' collective experiences (p.290).⁴ Such experiences of personal and collective crisis, can affect people in different ways. There is a need for cultural awareness in order to understand not just how primary migrants cope, but also how their experiences affect their offspring, whether they are black or white (Jayaratnam, 1993).

In this vein I would now like to turn to the data I mentioned in relation to racism and migration and its relation to health, in the earlier section on racism. The following three questions are part of a set in my health questionnaire (found in

Volume Two on pages H&LS 13-15), and were designed to be used in addition to the various HALS questions (also in Volume Two, on pages H&LS 1-12) to find out, whether my respondents were aware of any relationship between their lives or their parent's lives, and in the case of both first and second generation respondents, the overall migratory experience, and, being Polish. As such these were post coded to generate 'yes' and 'no' responses as well as being open ended for further discussion.

When asked this question (Q.18f, H&LS 14, Volume Two),

Do YOU think these experiences had any impact on [your] parent's health?

in relation to their belief that the overall experience of migration and the subsequent hardships and problems encountered had had any effect on their parent's lives, my UK and US second generation respondents gave the following responses. Out of all those who responded, 64.7% (66; n=102) said 'yes', for UK respondents, and 48.5% (16; n=33) said 'yes', for US respondents.

When asked this question (Q.18g, H&LS 14, Volume Two),

[Were there any] Other environmental factors affecting [your] parent's health?

in order to ascertain whether they believed that the specific experience of (their parent's) racism had had any effect on their parent's lives in relation to their (parent's) health, my UK and US second generation respondents gave the following responses. Out of all those who responded, 43.4% (43; n=99) said 'yes', for UK respondents, and 54.5% (18; n=33) said 'yes', for US respondents.

For the final question before I move on to discussing these data on health, I will show the responses for second generation UK and US respondents in the form of

tables, showing only those respondents who answered this question. The question asked (Q.18h, H&LS 15, Volume Two),

Do you think that any part of your Polishness, or your cultural background, may have in any shape or form impacted on your perceived quality of life, (and hence on your health)?

Table 10.2 Responses for Q.18h, H&LS 15, showing overall figures for both second generation respondent groups

Response Categories For 'Polishness':	Second Generation Respondents			
	UK		US	
It impaired my quality of life	21	19.6%	9	27.3%
It improved my quality of life	51	47.7%	10	30.3%
No impact on my life whatsoever	35	32.7%	13	39.4%
TOTAL	n=107	100%	n=33	100%

HEALTH DATA DISCUSSION.

My findings for first generation health trends have quite definitively made three things clear to me (Table 9.2, Table 10, and Table 10.1, pages 303-306). First, these various levels of health are not in line with the indigenous population.

Marmot *et al.*, (1984) surmised that they ought to be, suggesting their expectations, as with other ethnic groups, that this would become evident after about twenty-five years in the new country. My first generation respondents had been in the UK between 45-50 years at the time of their interviews. Therefore these Poles' various levels of health are not in keeping with the extant literature on immigrant groups in these particular instances.

Secondly, these figures appear to hold up Braito's contention, as I discussed previously which is evidenced by my findings presented in Table 9 (p. 300) and Table 9.2 (p.303). My explanations for the lower rates of health, and perceived worse health, for first generation Poles, when compared with an equivalent HALS sub-sample, and controlling for social class, can best be illustrated by looking at the individual results found in Table 10.1 (p. 306).

Thirdly in every single instance of a specific illness, second generation respondents recorded higher levels of illness for their parents, than was found to be the case for the equivalent HALS sub-sample. The level of 'Severe depression' for example, is twice that of the HALS figure, and confirms Gordon's (1990); Hitch's (1975), Hitch & Rack's (1982), and Littlewood & Lipsedge's (1989) work on the embodiment and somatisation of symptoms in the form of (mental) illness, as a result of hardship, trauma and significant disturbances in the lives of individuals.

In the case of first generation Poles, one aspect of their migratory experience was that of racism. It has become clear throughout my interviews that the general effect as a result of having experienced 'racism' has been a lasting impact on some of my first and second generation respondents, as well as becoming a significant factor in their decision making process (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990: 145).

Relevant data that I presented on page 310 (Table 10.2), show an awareness of the negative influence that discriminatory attitudes due to a person's ethnicity can

have on a person's well-being and quality of life. This set of findings indicated that the effect of these attitudes can be seen to be manifested as having had a 'salutogenic' (beneficial) impact in some areas of people's lives, with 47.7% of UK and 30.3% of US second generation respondents who responded felt that their ethnicity has added something of benefit and improved their lives. Whereas, for 19.6% of UK and 27.3% of US second generation respondents who responded felt that their ethnicity has impaired the quality of their lives, and therefore its impact had been 'pathogenic' (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990: 145).

Here are some quotations from my respondents on the issue of the impact that they believe their ethnicity had on their lifestyles and quality of life. First are what some first generation respondents had to say. One female respondent remarked, "In Poland our lives were mapped out, they were never meant to be this hard and without warmth. It saddens me that my life has been wasted and health destroyed because of the war and the difficulties we had here. My friends have passed away one by one, my life has been empty for a long time."¹⁰⁷.

Another said, "life is much better for us here in America, I have accomplished many things here and for this I am grateful"¹⁰⁸. Yet another first generation respondent declared,

"I feel that in some ways my experiences in my life have been both better for being Polish and sometimes worse for being Polish. Most people behaved very well towards me, ... but there are always some people who are never content with that which God has seen fit to give them. Because they are unhappy and see that you have, they hate you for it. But because you are different they hate you all the more."

UK 1st Gen No. 304/M

¹⁰⁷ UK 1st Gen No. 301/F

¹⁰⁸ US 1st Gen No.812/F

Some of my second generation respondents made the following observations about the impact that one of their parent's experiences had on them as well as on the parent. One male respondent said, "my dad has always been discriminated against *his whole life here* because he is Polish, it has made me feel very conscious about being different I know that my health problems are as a result of stress brought on by this".¹⁰⁹ [Respondent's own emphasis].

Another remarked,

"I love the fact that I am Polish and different, sometimes when things aren't going so well or life gets tough, I look around me at all these [Polish traditional artefacts]... and remember where I'm from and how much harder life was for my folks and the other Poles who made it over here. You know their health suffered 'cos of it all, yeah?"

US 2nd Gen No. 517/BPP/M

One respondent remarked on his father's high expectations for him to succeed which he felt was as a result of the father's own migratory experiences [including that of déclassment] which the respondent felt that his father had never really got over. He felt this 'coercion' by the father had, "in some ways cast a shadow over my entire life, I hated all the extra work and tutoring year in year out"¹¹⁰. He summed up how he felt that these expectations had impacted on his well-being and subsequently his quality of life in saying, "it did my head in, I wouldn't push anyone like that, ever. It's very difficult to have to cope with."

This final quotation comes from a respondent who lived in one of the Polish DP camps during her childhood:

¹⁰⁹ UK 2nd Gen No. 35/PFO/M

¹¹⁰ UK 2nd Gen No. 001/BPP/M

“When we lived in the [DP] camp you would sometimes see certain people walking around as though they were always preoccupied and their eyes looked sad. Even though I was young then I still remember it. As you grow older, you begin to notice things, I remember seeing that same look in the eyes of some members of my family.”

[My insert]

UK 2nd Gen No. 15/BPP/F

These last two quotations are just some of the handful of similar stories I was privy to about how second generation respondents were aware that some of their parents had failed to come to terms with their overall migratory experiences.

Marsella (1982, 1985) maintains that never recovering from this experience of loss and forced change means that for such individuals there is no moving on since the grieving process which enables this is continuous, as is the sense of a loss of selfhood, affecting both their long-term outlook as well as sometimes their family member's outlook on life. It is not that surprising therefore to find that over half of all UK (66; n=112) and nearly half of USA (16; n=33) respondents said 'yes', giving an overall figure of 56.6% (82 respondents), saying that they acknowledged that there was some evidence of the effects that the Diasporic experience of Poles during and after WWII had in one form or another on their parents. These data therefore in concert with the qualitative examples from first generation respondents, support extant literature on the experiences of post-war Poles in a variety of Polonian communities as they have over time impacted on the well-being and mental health as perceived by the second generation (WUS, 1981; Jagucki, 1983; Hitch, 1975; Braito, 1988).

The table that follows (Table 11), will underpin the erosion of only some religious traditions, in the second generation, as well as indicate some areas where elements

of Polish cultural influence persists. I have combined two of the possible responses, ‘Strongly agree’ and ‘Agree’, and these are the figures being presented in Table 11, which shows a selection from the range of HALS questions labelled as *Loci*. However, *Loci* numbers B. C, E and G, are my own (Polish cultural) inclusions, so there are no cross-tabulations with HALS for these four.

Table 11 HALS *Loci* questions: showing, 1st Gen UK Poles; and 2nd Gen UK Poles, compared, where relevant, with the HALS 2nd Gen equivalent sub-sample.

HALS ‘Loci’ Questions:	UK 1 st Gen	UK 2 nd Gen	UK HALS 2 nd Gen*
A Good health is the most important thing in life:	23 96%	108 96%	3761 87%
B 1st Gen Poles interpret illness & medicine to folk & cultur-religico customs	16 67%	84 75%	0
C Such beliefs have no place in modern life:	13 54%	47 42%	0
D Health is a matter of luck:	6 25%	40 35%	1140 27%
E When you are ill, God is punishing you:	13 54%	39 34%	0
F Suffering has a divine purpose	18 75%	27 24%	1068 25%
G When I am ill, I look for childhood explanations:	23 95%	73 65%	0
H I have to be very ill, before I go to the doctor:	18 75%	81 77%	1028 24%

*The above HALS and 2nd Gen cross-tabulation comparisons generated the following Continuity correction Chi-square statistics:
A 6.72 (P=0.010) D 4.10 (P=0.043)
F 0.01 (P=0.921) H 152.83 (P=0.000)

Of the four HALS *Loci*, namely A, D, F, and H, only A and H are maintained from Polish first generation to second generation. In H in particular this figure is so close to the first generation response rate, it is not unreasonable to posit a suggestion that this is so because second generation respondents have adopted stoicism, what Braiton (1988) sees as one of the traits she identified in her sample

of Poles For example, one of my respondents said of her very ill mother,

“Mum was very brave with her illnesses. I could see her suffering yet she *never* complained. It has made a big impact on me. When the children complain about anything, ... I always say to them – look at your Babcia [Grandmother], you never saw her complain. I see these things differently now.”

UK 2nd Gen No.9/BPP/F

The other responses, when looking at first and second Polish samples only, show that the only category which does not show an inter-generationally maintained belief system, is F. Number F, strictly relates to Polish RC religious doctrine, and this response certainly corresponds with the dwindling church attendances, from childhood to adulthood reported by me earlier (Table 6, page 261).

Conclusion.

The major migrations of Poles as a result of WWII, for whom final destinations¹¹¹ were the UK and the USA constituted for the former, the first, and for the latter, the last, major wave of Poles, arriving in a specific time period into these two countries¹¹². The first generation arrived at these two final destinations via a variety of routes, with some of my US respondents making it (America), their final destination when choosing to leave Britain, after finding environmental factors so unacceptable that they felt compelled to move on. Having no home and no country which to return to, America was felt to be their best choice.

¹¹¹ This study deals with migrations to the UK and the USA. Other migrations of Poles to various parts of the world as a result of WWII, include destinations such as Australia, Canada and Brazil.

¹¹² Of course, after restrictions were lifted in the late 1950's, a steady trickle of Poles left Poland in search of a better life, many on a holiday visa only. With the advent of *Solidarity* this movement increased, and with the successful overthrowing of the Communist regime, so that by the 1990's, this 'exodus' was established as a preferred route to economic success.

Such journeys have rightly come to be recognised as 'highly cultural experiences' (Bottomley, 1992; Fielding, 1992a¹¹³). Boyle *et al.* (1998: 72) maintain that immigration tends to have specific meanings for a given society or a sub-section of the society which 'cannot be reduced to clear-cut economic or social factors alone'. My analysis of the various types of migration in Chapter Two (pages 52-61) indicates the diverse range of possible routes, place and time leading to different kinds of migratory experiences for different groups of people.

In-depth interviews carried out by Li *et al.* ¹¹⁴ (1995: 72), with professional people in Hong Kong regarding emigration, elicited that a major concern for these people was over retaining Chinese ethnic identity, and with their strong belief that ethnicity was very much tied to place, those interviewed expressed concerns as to whether 'experiences at the destination would undermine this cultural identity'.

It is highly evident that both the UK and US post-war Polish émigré communities share the same ideological basis for their existence, and as much as their experiences of WWII and the ensuing hardships are relevant, and although the Poles do not believe that ethnicity is tied to place, both first generation respondent groups were concerned with the impact that maintaining their ethnicity within which Catholicism is a central factor, in a new place where this was not the case. The historically derogatory treatment of the Irish is evidence that this concern was well founded (Hickman, 1995, 1996; Hickman & Walter, 1997).

¹¹³ This reference was cited in Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998, page 72.

¹¹⁴ Quote from Li *et al.* cited (as in previous footnote, no.113).in Boyle *et al.*, 1998, page 72.

What is also very clear from my research is that both second generation groups do not feel wholeheartedly obliged to maintain the same kind of Polishness as that constructed by their parents as political émigrés. As I covered at great length, this is because their experiences as second generation Poles and their resultant self-identities and sub-cultural identities are shaped by *their attitude to*, and as a result of *their treatment by*, the two distinct host communities; these identities are also partly formed as a result of their childhood socialisation in the parents' host country, and clearly differ as a result of having either two Polish parents, a Polish mother, or, a Polish father. As my findings show, those Poles I spoke to made it clear that they were not only maintaining their ethnicity as a result of their (mixed) heritage, but were also partly influenced by their respective UK and US environments.

The varying degrees to which Polish customs both traditional and religious are maintained, are borne out as being contingent on a wide range of factors present in the daily lives of my respondents. It is apparent that the experience of racism is one such factor. The experience of Poles therefore as a white minority ethnic group is not that dissimilar to that of the Irish, who are also assumed to have easily assimilated into their parent's host culture by the second generation. US Poles as an ethnic group are even more comparable to the UK Irish in the depreciatory way that they are overtly viewed and maligned in populist culture. The effect that discriminatory behaviour operates in America has resulted in a selectively maintained type of Polishness (with some evidence of symbolic ethnicity also present in my UK case study group) for my US respondents, a good example of which was the 'anonymous' engaging in of ethnic parades.

One of my themes throughout this chapter has been to test for the presence of the concept of status competition, and as with many other things in life, this concept does not operate in isolation. I was able to show that the hereditary way in which it had always operated within Polonia changed in accordance with the natural developments within the Polish community. This was more evident in American Polonian practise, mainly because of the passage of time. Since the UK Polonian community has been in existence for a far shorter period of time, such changes, if status competition is to be maintained given a further dilution of the maintenance of traditions (Sword, 1996), cannot be easily identified. This notwithstanding, I identified the operationalisation of status competition in both case study groups, manifested not only in their educational but in their occupational achievements also. I also uncovered some indication that the pressures in striving to live up to the parental expectation to succeed might impact, for instance, on a person's well-being. With this in mind, I have two points to make here. As I discussed, Hitch (1975: 284) for example investigated the possibility of a relationship between a series of factors¹¹⁵, and any evidence of mental disorder. He discovered that in the case of Poles, there was evidence to indicate that as a result of 'status incongruity', post-war Poles were highly susceptible to mental health problems (Ibid.)

The relevance that this point has is that according to Hitch *status incongruity* occurred primarily because these Poles in question were (very much like my

¹¹⁵ Hitch was looking at the following concepts in order to discern whether either individually or as a group, they might be responsible in some way for the somatisation of (mental health) symptoms (predominantly) in Poles, and other European refugees and migrants. These were: ethnic group membership; area of residence; residential mobility; and, social class.

first generation Poles), unable to obtain jobs in the UK which held an equivalent status to those they had had in pre-war Poland. Their inability to maintain their status was felt to reflect not just on themselves, but also on the whole family (Znanińska Lopata, 1976). This in essence is my first point, that for Poles, as my research overwhelmingly confirms, status maintenance is embedded in the fabric of their daily cultural existence (Braithwaite, 1988).

My second point leads on directly from the first. The resulting consequence was an increased pressure, which was transferred to the second generation, and was manifested in a heightened desire among first generation parents to ensure that their children achieved both educationally and occupationally. If this were the case, then I would need to show that my respondents have done better, both academically as well as occupationally, when compared against equivalent indigenous (same age and gender) samples. As I said this was very definitely seen to be the case, especially in the case of my UK female respondents. I found the importance of educational achievement, and the notion of status competition (Znanińska Lopata, 1976) to be very much a thriving force in propelling my second generation respondents, both in the UK and US, in their aspirations to achieving their goals.

I referred above to the effects that their migratory experiences had had on the first generation. My research supports extant literature on the Polish experience in the UK in this regard, showing that although the first generation is better off occupationally their self reported outlook is less healthy (Rack, 1982; Hitch & Rack, 1978; Braithwaite, 1988). I was also able to show that there is evidence

of the retention of Polish culturo-medico belief systems in my responses from second generation respondents, indicating a relationship between ethnicity and health.

My health data bore out that migratory stress does not go away, as was evidenced by the overall higher rates of illness for my first generation when compared against an indigenous sample. These findings are in contrast to extant literature on the health status of immigrant groups and indicate an active and ongoing relationship between ethnicity and health. In the case of second generation respondents, the relationship between ethnicity and health was also evident but in an unexpected way and different to that of the first generation. Whereas first generation respondents responses indicated a relationship between ethnicity and health as a result of their migratory experience, their offspring's responses resulted in highlighting a variety of explanations, such as maintaining their ethnicity contextually, upholding parental expectations, as well as, the effect that their parent's problems may have had on their own well-being.

One final point in this chapter, before I present my concluding chapter. Waters (1990) maintains that structural conditions and trends perpetuate the inequalities in (American) society for non-white ethnic minority groups. These case studies challenge that assumption and suggest that there is evidence, not just in America but also in the UK, that these conditions are not restricted to non-white minorities, but, that they also effect white minority ethnic groups. It is manifestly clear from the US data, that this is the case for long-term (white minority group) settlers, as well as for more recent arrivals (Hickman, 1995, 1996, 1997; Hitch, 1975, Jagucki, 1983; Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1989).

CHAPTER FIVE

Main Conclusions.

I have tried to present a brief ‘impression’ of the history of Poland, and show how the circumstances surrounding her people’s various migrations have shaped Poland’s past. These upheavals in Poland’s history in concert with the various migrations *and the current political climates of the countries into which these Poles were to finally settle*, also played a part in the development of both Polonian communities examined in this thesis, both the English but more especially the American one.

I studied two such settlements, concentrating on post-war Polish immigrants and their offspring, second generation Poles, in order to find out if these two disparate communities shared similar traits. I was able to successfully identify the presence of varied levels of maintained Polishness in both of my two case study groups by operationalising a range of concepts. These were of course status competition, ethnic discrimination or ‘racism’, maintaining cultural traditions, ethnic self identity, sub-cultural identity, and any relationship between health and ethnicity. The overall maintainment of Polish customs in each of the study groups was seen to be contextually contingent on factors specific to the respective locations. I will outline shortly what I believe to be three main factors which helped to underpin the ways in which ethnicity has been maintained by the second generation Poles in these two case study groups. However before that, I will draw together my overall findings generated via the use of the above concepts, by highlighting my key findings and illustrating them with some of the overall empiric results.

Key Findings Relating to the Main Concepts Operationalised in this Thesis.

Testing for the presence of status competition revealed that its long-term practice in American Polonia had organically evolved to meet the needs of new waves of Poles, who had a different outlook to those earlier mass migrations of Poles arriving in the US at the turn of the century. Both sets of first generation Poles in this study reflected a more outward looking tendency than these migrants. As a result while status competition was still very much in evidence by the second generation, it was practiced not at the expense of self-betterment and in isolation from the host society, but in direct competition with it. This was the first of the concepts examined, all of which examinations indicated that the experience of the Poles in these two case study groups was altogether different to comparable groups of indigenous people, and this was evidenced by my respondents' academic achievements, and also, as my discussion on occupational attainment showed, their higher occupational positions, particularly for the women, relative to the déclassment particularly experienced by their UK fathers or many first generation respondents (Sword, 1988); once again the second generation respondents in my two case studies fared much better when compared against a similar sample of indigenous persons.

For example my overall findings for UK and US second generation respondents'¹ educational attainment at 'A' level (and American equivalent) were 71% (17%) and 70% (22%) respectively. These findings are consistent with existing literature on

¹ The extant data figures for UK and US comparable groups of males and females are in brackets after each overall percentage.

Polonian communities regarding the presence of status competition manifested by higher overall levels of attainment across a range of life experiences (Znanińska Lopata, 1976b, 1994, 1996; Morawska, 1977, 1995; Hitch, 1975).

Use of these concepts also revealed not only that there is evidence of an ongoing celebration of cultural traditions, both religious and non-religious, but also the presence of both ethnic self-identity, and a common sub-cultural identity. These however have all been shaped and maintained in different ways and are very much the product of the UK and US environments. In the case of ethnicity maintenance, levels of erosion are consistent with existing literature regarding acculturation theory (Sword, 1982, 1996; Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1995). In keeping with these levels of erosion across the range of religious and non-religious traditions tested, my findings indicated that the presence of two Polish parents appears to slow down these levels of erosion (See Tables 5.2, 5.4 p.p.243 and 245).

Another important indication of the maintenance of religion, a central factor in the lives of first generation Poles was provided in both groups by the high overall levels of exposure to some form of Catholic religious instruction, especially in the case of those American first generation parents who had to pay for the parochial schooling of their children.

In looking for any evidence of ethnic self-identity, I was surprised to find that the values of the first generation community and its ideology were very important for many second generation Poles. However, it must be remembered that I was

assessing this in a relatively self-contained community in the UK, and that my US sample was too small for meaningful disaggregation, for example when I was particularly interested in whether the formation of an ethnic self-identity could have been influenced by a specific gender of Polish parent.

In the case of an ethnic self-identity, and a common sub-cultural identity, my findings very clearly show that for a number of respondents from both case study groups these were maintained in concert with the presence of one of the concepts under investigation, namely 'racism'. Since the presence of racism factored so strongly in my respondents' choice for ethnicity maintainment in terms of identity, I will discuss this concept within the next section of this chapter.

This notwithstanding, in testing for the presence of an ethnic identity it became very clear that the majority of respondents saw themselves as being Polish (Table 6.2, p.263; UK: 86%, 96/112; US: 97%, 32/33). Identifying any presence of a common sub-cultural identity revealed that contrary to extant data on the formation of ethnic groups non-attendance at (Polish) formal organisations does NOT necessarily indicate the non-existence of an ethnic community. (Sword, 1996; Erdmans, 1998; Rex, 1991; Zebrowska, 1986). The Poles in my case study samples consistently indicated that their choices were contingent on the pressures which they felt were exerted by environmental factors, and in the case of my US sample the negative image of Poles in American culture. As my findings showed, both sample groups overwhelmingly felt that their being Polish was important, with overall

responses of 68.7% (77/112) for the UK sample, and 63.5% (21/33) for the US sample (Table 6.3, page 264).

Lastly I wish to comment on my findings generated by operationalising the health and ethnicity relationship which revealed certain links between health and ethnicity for both generations but differing ones. The most important point here, of course, is the impact on the second generation of the parents' various experiences. As I stated early on in this thesis, I had considered *not* including any input from first generation Poles. It must be said, that I cannot now imagine how this thesis would have turned out if I had not included them as very simply put, I relied on their experiences as a benchmark against which to gauge their off-springs' experiences.

One interesting factor was the incidence of stress, as a result of maintaining one's ethnicity for second generation Poles, especially for BPP respondents as evidenced in Table 8.7 (page 298). The reason why this is interesting, is that the literature predominantly discusses the effect of stress on non-white minority ethnic groups (Williams, D. 1996, 1997; Ahmad, 1992a 1993, 1996; Bhopal & White, 1993). So I have been able to show for (an assumed easily assimilated) white minority group, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, that elements of ethnicity can, to coin a phrase, damage your health.

The impact of the Polish religion on interpretations of the world and traumatic events such as the onset of illness and the coping strategies used (as evidenced by the high responses in B and G, Table 11, page 316) is another example of the

parallels in the extant literature (in this instance on the rôle of the parish, the priest and the overall positive impact religion has on the well-being and quality of life on those individuals who actively practise their faith), on the effect of religion as a coping strategy as determined by research on almost exclusively non-white ethnic groups but primarily African Americans, and, research such as this on a white minority ethnic group (Williams *et al.*, 1999; Williams *et al.*, 1991; Neighbors *et al.*, 1998; Murphy & West, 1997). Involvement in religious settings may have a salutogenic affect on health status. Moreover, these data examined indicated that this sample of first generation respondents' levels of health were not in keeping with the literature on the health status of (long established) minority groups, as well as the qualitative examples showing the impact of their ethnicity on their quality of life.

Another factor is that the traumas which they experienced as a direct result of their migratory experiences appear to have helped to trigger their responses regarding the inevitability of illness in ten years time. This kind of negative reaction is consistent not only with Braito's (1988) findings on the long-term pathogenic effect of traumatic events, but is also consistent with the similar findings within the extant literature on first generation Poles which I discussed in Chapter One (pp. 43-44) all clearly indicate a (negative) relationship between health and ethnicity.

For second generation respondents, a relationship between their ethnicity and health was in evidence but was seen to be different to that corresponding to their parents. (Once again both sets of revelations have to be viewed contextually). Their figures

for self-reported health revealed that for some of them maintaining some level of Polishness in their adult lives was a constant source of stress as a result of racial intolerance, as was aspiring to meet parental demands in adolescence as well as in later life. It remains to be seen in both case study locations whether the same level of 'pressure' will be applied to the third generation and in turn impact on *their* health.

Factors Which Determined the Maintainment of Polish Ethnicity.

1) Racial Discrimination.

One catalyst identified as determining the maintainment of Polish ethnicity is the presence of racism, which although present in both cultures is shown to be manifested in differing ways. As well as being one of my main concepts, this is the first factor which helped to shape the way in which both case study groups' of second generation Poles defined their ethnicities.

Although it is not the only reason why levels of Polish ethnic maintainment differ between the generations, it nonetheless highlights (in situ) a structural regime of thought, which is predisposed to creating a hostile environment, and which when discussed by academics is generally done so in terms of non-white discrimination (Smaje, 1995; Ahmad, 1989, 1992a). It is no surprise therefore that the Irish in England fought for the recognition of themselves as an ethnic minority, mainly because of their 'statistical invisibility' and the 'cultural insensitivity' they continually experienced in the health service (Kelleher, 1996: 82). In this context, I have been able to demonstrate that the negative experience of a certain number of

my second generation UK Poles, *as Poles*, can not only be seen to be no different to other second generation white minority ethnic groups, but also to that of non-white ethnic groups. I have therefore given much space to the problems experienced by my (first and) second generation Poles, particularly in the area of co-operation between my 'assumed' assimilated Poles, and the respective levels of accommodation from their parents' host communities.

For example the Poles in America are still struggling with getting 'fair rights' as an ethnic group, as evidenced by the ongoing compensation hearings for forced labour during WWII. There is also the issue of their continued struggle with the defamation of their ethnic group as a whole. This is subject matter that I covered extensively as this one factor creates the ongoing 'climate' in which my US respondents make their decisions regarding the maintainment of their Polishness. Only recently a much respected American journalist, Leslie Stahl, who reports on *60 Minutes*, grossly misrepresented and defamed Poles in her forthcoming book². After a public outcry from within the Polish American community, the publishers had the offending paragraphs removed.

The Poles in the UK for example, are a silent community hence it is not known to what extent racism against Poles occurs. Since the UK Poles have no political voice, there is no opportunity to hear of any systematic injustices perpetrated on this ethnic group; but evidence has indicated that the experience of racism for those Poles here

² Cited in SIEC, dated 2nd November 1999.

in the Midlands is also the experience for many non-white minority ethnics (Mason, 1995). Previous work carried out by me attests that this is not an isolated instance of discriminatory behaviour leveled at just a few British Poles.

I have indicated how negative stereotyping in America, institutional in its nature, causes an effect that impacts on the choices individuals make on maintaining their ethnicity. As a result, there are many layers of ethnicity maintainment, as evidenced by my discussion of Waters' (1990) theory of symbolic ethnicity. In addition to this, by definition, a minority ethnic group's maintenance can often be seen in terms of a trade-off. Unless the mainstream within society deems that a particular ethnicity is of some use or value, this disinterest aids in the slow erosion of these ethnic values especially in the public arena.

However, in the UK, there is not yet the same kind of *overt* climate regarding the defamation of Poles. I do not believe that Poles have been singled out, and my study reveals that very often instead it is fierce competition for limited resources which may trigger one group's attack on another. However, the experience of racism has had a permeating impact, in that it has affected the kinds of formal presentation of self, both in the UK, but especially so in the US. That the negative imagery regarding Poles is still prevalent after so many years says a lot about America's structural status quo. I wonder how many people are actually aware that the multi-millionaire Martha Stewart, one of the most respected household names in

American popular culture, is a third generation American Pole³. This is a good example of an ethnic identity 'concealed' from public scrutiny, the association with which has negative connotations (Erdman, 1998), and flies in the face of Water's (1990: 157) claim that for white American ethnic groups declaring one's ethnic roots is 'lacking in social costs' (discussed previously in Chapter Four, p.p.286-287).

2) Political Ideology of the First Generation.

The political émigré ideology was found to be the cause of a schism between the two generations in question, as the second generation found less and less in common with their parents' idea of the Polish community's *raison d'être*. This sort of schism was more noticeable in American Polonia, where the various migrations live side by side, but rarely become involved in each others' lives. In Britain as well as in America, at the time when first generation Poles (as well as Asians and West Indians, etc.) were coerced into actually relinquishing their ethnic traits (names, language etc.), and total assimilation was the expected route, it is very difficult to assess precisely how much ethnic erosion actually took place in absolute terms - given the lack of empirical data, and disinterest in relevant research among commentators outside the realms of those with specific interests in the Poles themselves (Patterson, 1963, 1964; and Zubrzycki, 1956).

The second factor therefore, after racism, which shaped the way in which second generation Poles defined their ethnic self-identities, was their parents' political

³ Cited in *The Times*, 9th September 1999: 7.

émigré ideology. It was inevitable that its militaristic character would hold little sway with second generation Poles as they emerged into adulthood, and sought out their own principles in which to believe. Such principles were shaped directly from their own respective frames of reference. In as much as this émigré settlement sought to provide 'group cohesion' based on these defining principles, it may well have had a problematic effect upon the maintenance of ethnic identity, and ultimately I believe, has in part contributed to its erosion (Sword, 1996). One of the problems has been that the 'hybrid' in products that the first generation political community's offspring have developed different ways to maintain their Polishness, in a manner which is in many ways contrary to the formal presentations constructed by the first generation. The growing irrelevance of the first generations' way of life and values to the second generation, hence their disinterest in Polish affairs as evidenced by my findings in Table 6.1 (p.261), and the decline in such previously high profile formal Ex-Combatants' group meetings, are all testimony to the demise of the old group ethos.

Such an ethos was based primarily on an affective sense of being, and whilst first generation group members were still active, there was no doubt that the capacity to propel the dynamic spirit, was very much in force. One of the overwhelming problems which the Polish community has had to contend with over the years, is that many of these post-war Poles truly were stateless. Unlike many economic migrants, who do not preclude a return to their homeland (for many it is most certainly a goal

as with the earlier Polish mass migrations to America), these Poles have had to intensify their identity 'abroad', because many of them hoped that this might sustain them until Poland was free. However, this was really a moot point, as there was little doubt that the Yalta and Teheran conference borders' agreements were to stay. Therefore the only hope was that the 'yoke of Communism' would be overthrown (Brait, 1988). It is evident therefore that the particular experience of many first generation Poles in the UK and the US was indeed shaped by the forced and involuntary nature of their immigration, and its impact made them very determined to try to retain some elements of these experiences in their new environments, such as their regimental reunions and contact with relatives and friends who had remained in Poland.

It is often therefore with some sadness that I read accounts, which give a general impression that Polish parents would often dissuade their children from visiting Poland, as a gesture of defiance to the then incumbent regime (Sword, 1982). From my own personal experience when interviewing first generation respondents for research previous to this one, I know many parents relished the thought that their children would someday visit their homeland. In this present study, five of my respondents found themselves spouses in Poland. I also asked respondents for the ethnicity of their siblings' spouses; and found that in the case of brothers nine were found to have Polish born wives, and four of my respondent's sisters were found to have Polish born husbands.

3) Secularisation: The Decline of Religion.

The third main factor, which helped or rather aided in the secularisation of the Polish youth was, ironically, the Polish religion. This was also inevitable. Precisely because the Polish RC faith has been an integral part of Polish cultural life, it seemed to become one of the extra-curricular activities, when choices were being made by adult second generation Poles as to which elements of their ethnicity to retain and which not to. The erosion of this intrinsic component of Polishness, as traditionally viewed by members of the first generation, must be viewed in the same way as everything else under discussion, and that is contextually. As I have argued, the changes in levels of attendance of religious-related customs, resulting in their erosion by adulthood in both UK and US second generation respondents, have to be viewed in a broader way, by taking into account the overall impact of the more rapid structural changes which occurred in both case study environments. These societal changes were additional forces which were present in the lives of the second generation, and assisted in influencing their decisions (Hornsby-Smith, 1991; Hall, 1992).

These kinds of external influences of course have been a tremendous challenge to the Polish clergy, because in their eyes, just as for my first generation Poles, Polish national culture and Catholicism are seen to be (historically) indivisible. There are areas where religion does thrive of course; after all my respondents still maintain some elements of religiosity, as evident in the figures in Tables 5 and 5.1 (pages

240 and 241 respectively). This notwithstanding, acculturation in the second generation will by definition reflect any changes or upheavals in the parent's host country.

Of course, there are many second generation Poles who, as I have shown, continue to maintain those elements of their Polish ethnicity that *they* choose. As de Vos (1995) points out, in American society (as well as in British society), language may often have very little to do with being an ethnic American (or a British white minority ethnic), with people having some allegiance to an inherited ethnic group but not able to speak the language (Waters, 1990). This is of course what I found via my qualitative research component to be the case for a number of my second generation Polish Americans and British Poles.

The Poles have traditionally maintained a crucial link between their national identity and the position that religion has within it. Religion has come to be seen as the cornerstone of Polish culture, and it is closely intertwined with many of the cultural icons and rituals. It is also a boundary marker for the group's, (or the common sub-cultural) identity, where entry has to be via at least an interest in Roman Catholicism. Ethnic boundary markers are often loaded with meaning, and their very existence can lead to certain notions being held by outsiders, about the nature of the ethnic group, as well as giving notions about outsiders to those within the 'boundary' who share a common frame of reference.

Groups that have called themselves a nation in one point, or in one territory, have become racial or ethnic in other contexts. An example of this are the Jews, and once again such categorisation has often been determined by political agendas. The Poles in Britain however have yet to be acknowledged on the same terms. In terms of a broader European context it is important to establish how white ethnic minority groups fare inter-generationally with regards to their own ethnicities.

Concluding Thoughts.

One of the more interesting comparative findings to come out of this study in particular is how the development of the position of the Poles in America closely parallels the development of the position of the Irish in the UK. What I have repeatedly mentioned throughout this study is the inadequacy of applying the narrow confines of the 'race relations' paradigm, which poses issues in terms of the opposition of blacks and whites, when attempting to explain the formation of a white minority ethnic group such as the Poles or indeed the Irish (Hickman, 1995). Both the Poles in America and the Irish in the UK have historically been subjected to a similar reception and policies upon arrival to their respective new homes (Znaniacka Lopata, 1994; Hickman, 1995). In both cases these have provided the framework within which the similar experiences of both groups were formed: for their discriminatory treatment when they competed for jobs, a tendency of many of those arriving to come from the working classes, and the construction of the Polish (Linkh, 1975) and Irish (Hickman, 1995) (Catholic) as an historically significant Other by

the American Catholic and the English (Protestant), and fear of the immigrant - both respectively giving rise to the enduring deprecatory image of the Polish American community, and the Irish in the UK (Znaniecka Lopata, 1994; Hickman, 1995). Just as it has been shown that all Poles are not 'blue collar' and uneducated, so similar studies (Hazelkorn, 1990: 38) regarding the Irish have for some time confirmed this, and challenged previous literature characterising the Irish experience in the UK as being 'primarily bleak, and unchanged over the years'. I offer the suggestion that the historical experience of the Irish in the UK is crucial in demonstrating the (continued) presence of a racist British nationalism.

The Polish community is a useful and necessary one to research on several levels. There were very few Poles (in the UK) prior to 1945. But this older generation, its numbers being depleted through attrition, now faces different kinds of fears and problems often in the shape of ill health (Jagucki, 1983), and faces each day with dwindling enthusiasm and expectancy. Many Poles are faced by the duality of past (war trauma and loss), and present (the reality of requiring outside help), for many this is seen to be yet another form of defeat, as they are no longer in a position due to deteriorating health to remain self-sufficient. Soon, it will be too late to record the varied and rich experiences of these individuals.

Secondly, there are lessons to be learnt from their treatment in the context of (inadequate immigration) policies, which were seen to have a lasting impact on many first generation Poles' job opportunities. Studying an ethnic group with a

religion which differs from that of the host country can provide an indication of how tolerant and accommodating receiving societies are. Equally important is how receptive the host population was to the maintenance of ethnic traits and the retention of language in contexts such as intermarriage. Also, how supportive or accommodating was the host society in the provision of facilities for white minority groups, such as it appears are provided for the Asians and West Indians, for ethnic resurgence/language retention.

This study has shown that in the case of the Poles, many of these above aspects of the host society were seen to have fallen short of my respondents' expectations. This study has also served to highlight such phenomena as commonly held (false) perceptions of white minority ethnic groups themselves, in that their members do not simply assimilate, and lose all sense of their ethnicity, and they certainly are not a homogeneous category; as well as revealing that maintaining or striving to maintain ethnicity in a 'hostile' environment, has a negative impact on one's sense of well-being. First generation Poles are living with their wartime legacy, and this has also been seen to impact not just on themselves, but also on the second generation.

Future studies are needed on Polish communities and the ways in which they evolve.

A positive by-product of the two case study analyses has been the collation of considerable data in areas such as a white minority group's health, domestic division of labour, marital relationships, and formal and informal group formations.

As a result, this research has produced a diverse set of key data on an ethnic group

that previously has had very little research carried out on it. I must again reiterate that these figures obviously relate to these two case study samples, and as such are contingent on the specific nature of the respective environments, therefore I need to acknowledge any possible problems regarding generalisation (Blaikie, 2001). Future researchers in this field might therefore consider undertaking research in one of the following areas:

- 1) Further studies looking at the development of other Polonian communities, either UK or US based would be of value. Using this study as a benchmark will facilitate the identification of parallel developments, and therefore generalising on the findings would become less problematic.
- 2) In view of the cyclical diasporic global movements, especially recently, of ethnic groups who may possess facets of commonality with Polish culture, it may be timely to undertake large-scale research of such movements, to help determine what kinds of social policies may need to be implemented to aid their accommodation.

Because of attrition, it will soon be too late to study at first hand, the rich source of data constituted by the experiences of first generation Poles to only a fraction of which I have been privy.

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**Ethnicity Maintenance: Its Contingent Nature and Impact on
Health.
Case Studies of Second Generation Poles in the West Midlands
(UK) and South Michigan (US)
Volume Two (of two)**

by

Teresa Agnes Staniewicz

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VOLUME TWO

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Comprises 5 questionnaire sets:

Section One:	Household Questions	1-6
Section One(a)	Polish Ethnicity & Religion	PE/R 1-14
Section Two:	Education	ED/OCC 1-4
Section Four:	Smoking & Drinking	S&D 1-3
Section Five:	Psychological Morbidity	GHQ 1-3

Appendix B

Comprises 1 questionnaire sets:

HALS Questions	H&LS 1-12
Additional health related questions	H&LS 13-15

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POLISH HEALTH, ETHNICITY & LIFESTYLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Section One: Household Questions (e.g. age, marital status, children, etc..)

Skip
to

Q1. I would like to start by collecting some brief information about you & your household.

a) First, what is your date of birth?

MONTH DAY YEAR

b) So, can I check, on your last birthday you were aged ...? **AGE**

c) **RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX:** ☒ Male
☒ Female

d) In addition to you, how many other people live
in your home? No. of other people
No other people
I am single and I live alone
I am divorced and I live alone

e) Who lives in this household with you?

PLEASE CHECK WHICH ONE APPLIES

Partner: ☒ Spouse: ☒
Living as married
Recently divorced
Recently widowed
Divorced, and living alone
Widowed, and living alone

children: None
How many in total
How many girls
How many boys

Parents:. Please check individually, if any live with you

Yours
MOTHER
FATHER

Spouse's
MOTHER
FATHER

Other relatives: Please check individually, if any live with you

Yours
UNCLES
AUNTS
COUSINS
OTHER (e.g. grandparent)

Spouse's
UNCLES
AUNTS
COUSINS
OTHER

Non-relatives (friends):

Yours

Spouse's

f)

Q.1) cont./

f) Is this your parent's(and previously your 'childhood') family home (circle the one which applies)	YES NO	Skip /go to
---	-----------	----------------

g) If answer is YES to f), please specify your present situation. Are you:		
Still single, and still living with your parents in their home?		
Still single, and still living on your own?		
Widowed or Divorced, and have moved back to your parents home with your child(ren)?		
Widowed or Divorced, and have moved back to your parents home on your own?		
Widowed or Divorced, or separated, and living with someone?		
Living in your (parent's) family home, with spouse and your children?		
Living in your (parent's) family home, with spouse, but with no children?	If Yes→	Q.2a

h) Is this your spouse's family home?	YES NO	Q.2 i)
---------------------------------------	-----------	-----------

i) Is this the home just you and your spouse / partner set up together?	YES NO	
---	-----------	--

Q2 a) Do you have any (other) children of your own who are not living with you? (Children of any age)	YES NO	b) Q.4
--	-----------	-----------

b) How many (other) children do you have?		
NUMBER OF (OTHER) CHILDREN	_____	Q.3

Q.3a) Does your ex-spouse / partner have residential responsibility for the children in 2b)	YES NO	
b) Is your ex-spouse / partner also a second generation Pole?	YES NO	c)

<i>Other (2nd Gen.) ethnic group</i>	<i>American Pole: 3rd generation</i>
	<i>American Pole: 4th etc generation</i>

c) Is your ex-spouse's new partner a second generation Pole?	YES NO
--	-----------

<i>They are deceased</i>	<i>They have no regular partner</i>
<i>American Pole: 3rd generation</i>	<i>American Pole: another ethnic group</i>

d) Who takes responsibility, if any is taken at all, for teaching these children about their Polish backgrounds, language and heritage? [For example -You; Your ex-spouse; other family members; no one etc...] Please elaborate

d)

You mostly
Spouse mostly
Both mostly
Neither of you
Other means

c)

Either Grandparent
 Polish Saturday Sch.
 Other relatives

Q.5

IF RESPONDENT HAS NO CHILDREN - GO ON TO h)

h

e) Do your children attend the local Polish Saturday School? YES
NO

Options: No (Sat) school available Not happy with quality of teaching
[3rd Gen.] Children prefer to do w/end sports these days Used to, not now

f)	Do you try to speak Polish to your children at home?	YES
		NO

g) What sort of support do you feel that you receive from your spouse in this area?

Positive	Negative	Indifferent

h) Do you have any social contact with the Polish community ? Give examples -

- 1) Go to church
- 2) Go to the Polish club
- 3) Visit my Polish friends
- 4) Go on parish arranged trips
- 5) Visit local Polish delicatessen
- 6) Use only parish delicatessen
- 7) Meet other parents as children's scout's and other activities organised

j) Does your spouse have any contact with the Polish community, socially? YES
NO

k)

Skip
/go to

Q. 4k If YES, what kind of contact? (USE SAME CATEGORIES AS IN h)

1)	2)	3)	4)
5)	6)	7)	

Q.5 If you live together, who usually does these chores, you or your spouse/partner?

- Straightens up the living room when company is coming.
- Supermarket shopping.
- The washing up.
- Keeping track of the money and bills.
- Repairs things around the house.
- Keeps in touch with your relatives.
- Keeps in touch with spouse's relatives.
- Mows the lawn.
- Does the laundry.
- General cooking.
- Cooking Polish dishes.
- Talking to the children's teachers.

The possible answers for this set of questions are as follows:

- 1 Wife always
- 2 Wife more than husband
- 3 Husband and Wife the same
- 4 Husband more than wife
- 5 Husband always

Q.6 How would you describe your present employment status?

- 1 F/T Employment
- 2 P/T Employment
- 3 Self-employed
- 4 Unemployed
- 5 Retired
- 6 Keeping house
- 7 Mothering, and Keeping house
- 8 Mothering
- 9 F/T Education
- 10 P/T Education
- 11 Not working due to illness or handicap

You
Your spouse

Please give a brief description of your 'daily work' / job?
[Also code for the following: ESRC '3 digit' social class code; R. G's s/class code; Goldthorpe's class schema 1-7 (original version). For each respondent & partner]

Skip
/go to

Q. 7 How many cars do you as a family generally own?

I lease my car

I have never driven

I no longer drive

ONE

TWO

NONE

Q. 8 How many (if at all) cars do you as a family have access to? [e.g. Co. car]

IF RESPONDENT IS SINGLE & HAS CAR- GO STRAIGHT TO QUESTION NO.10

Q.10

Q. 9 If you are a "one car household",

i) How often do you have access to the family car? [Tick as many as you wish]

Daily, to drive yourself to work

To drop spouse off to work, and then drive yourself to work

To take children to school

To take children to the crèche, and/or nursery

Mainly only in the evenings when spouse returns

Occasionally in the evenings

Mainly at the weekend

Occasionally, at the weekend

Rarely

ii) How often does your spouse have access to the family car? [Tick as many as you wish]

Daily, to drive yourself to work

To drop spouse off to work, and then drive yourself to work

To take children to school

To take children to the crèche, and/or nursery

Mainly only in the evenings when spouse returns

Occasionally in the evenings

Mainly at the weekend

Occasionally, at the weekend

Rarely

Q. 10 How old is your car?

☐ *My car is leased*

Q.12a)

< 2 yrs; 2 yrs; 3 yrs; 4 yrs; 5 yrs; 6 yrs; 7 yrs; > 7 yrs

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

Q. 11 How often do you replace the family car? (your own, not a Company car)

☐ every yr

☐ every 2 yrs

☐ every 2-3 yrs

☐ every 3-4 yrs

☐ no plans

Skip
/go to

Just a few general questions about your home.

Q.12 a) Do you own the property where you live?

YES

☐

NO

☐

OTHER

☐

Q.13

12 b)

12 b)

b) Do you:

- rent your property privately
- rent your property from the council
- rent from some other organisation
- with your parents, in their home
- with your spouse's parents, in their home

Any other, please explain

1st Gen: in own home

1st Gen: in own home with offspring

1st Gen: in offspring's home

1st Gen: in sheltered accommodation

1st Gen: lives with elderly friend, in their home

Q.13 How long have you been living at your current home? (give no. of yrs)

Q.14 a) Have you always lived in this area? (Coventry)

YES

NO

b)
Q.15

b) Where were you brought up to live, as a child?

1) *In a Polish resettlement camp*

2) *(West) Midlands*

3) *Other part of UK*

4) *Poland*

5) *Elsewhere*

6) *Detroit (and vicinity)*

7) *Chicago*

8) *New York*

9) *Other US region*

10) *Ann Arbor*

Q.15 When did you arrive to this area?

Q.16 Do you and your spouse have any plans to leave this area?

none at all

☐

firm plans in the near future

☐

hope to move some day

☐

Q.17 a) Does your immediate family (siblings) also live in the area

YES

NO

b)

b)

All

Some

No siblings at all

1st Gen: My siblings were all killed in WWII

b) Please explain (if all, where etc..)

All live in this area

Brothers live here

Sisters live here

Section One(a): Polish Ethnicity / Religion Questions.

Skip to

[Remember: ask all relevant questions to 1st Gen resps. in the first person]

I would now like to ask you some questions about your Polish background.
Starting with your parents:

Q.1 a) Are your parents still alive?

MOTHER
FATHER
both passed away

Q.2

b) Where do they live. Is it locally?

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1] YES (both) | 5] With me: In my home/In their house |
| 2] NO (both) | 6] Hamtramck, Detroit |
| 3] Mother YES, Father NO | 7] Outside Detroit (incl. Ann Arbor) |
| 4] Father YES, Mother, NO | 8] Chicago 9] New York 10] Elsewhere in US |

Q.2 Who is/was Polish?

MOTHER
FATHER
BOTH

Q.3 Do you know much about where your Polish parent(s) came from?
[code for each Polish parent] If not known at all, go to Q.4

- | | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
| 1] YES | 2] EASTERN POLAND |
| 2] NO | 4] Mother/Father is/was AMERICAN POLE |

Q.4 a) Where did they get married. In England, America or elsewhere?

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------|
| 1] UK | 2] POLAND | 3] USA |
| 4] ELSEWHERE | 5] DID NOT MARRY | |

b) Was it in,

CHURCH
REGISTRY
BOTH
NOT SURE
OTHER
NOT MARRIED

c) If other, where?

Q.5 Were the ceremonies Polish ones?

CHURCH
REGISTRY
BOTH
OTHER
NOT SURE
NEITHER MARRIAGE WAS POLISH

Q.6 a) When you were young, did your parents mix with other Poles?

YES
NO

b) Tell me about this, was it in any of the following ways
[read out 7b) categories, and code for each parent]

Q.7 a) Do they currently mix and meet with other Poles?

YES
NO

b) If yes, in any of the following ways: [Please tick more than one if necessary]

- i) Formally, ie by attending Mass weekly at their Parish church etc....
- ii) Informally, ie attending social events, excursions run by the Church
- iii) Through meetings with friends, who are non-relatives,
- iv) Through meetings with friends, who are relatives
- v) Occasional meetings, just to keep in touch
- vi) Specific regular Regimental reunions
- vii) *Most of these, regularly* viii) *Never church related, but others Yes.*
- xi) *Pol/Amer: 1st Gen Fraternity & Chapel Orgs. Meetings*
- x) *Pol/Amer: 2nd Gen Fraternity & Chapel Orgs. Meetings*

Q.8 a) Did you ever accompany your parent(s) to such events as a child?

YES
NO

1] If both parents went 2] If mother went on her own 3] If father went on his own

b) What (Polish) activities did *you* ever attend as a child?

- i) POLISH SATURDAY SCHOOL
- ii) POLISH SCOUTS female
- iii) POLISH SCOUTS male
- iv) SOCIAL (PARISH) ACTIVITIES

c) Do you ever go to any form of Polish social event with your parent(s) these days?

YES
NO

d) Do you ever go on your own (ie only with partner; or by yourself; and/or children)?

- 1) OWN 2) (only) PARTNER 3) (only) CHILDREN
- 4) ALL TOGETHER 5) NEVER

Q.9 Do your parents mix with as many English/American people, as they do Polish?

YES
NO

Please elaborate:

- 1) *MORE ENGLISH ONES* 2) *MORE AMERICAN ONES*
- 3) *ONLY POLISH ONES* 4) *NO POLISH ONES*

Now a few questions about your brother(s) and/or sister(s), and your partner

Q.10 Do you have any brothers or sisters?
SISTERS
BROTHERS
NEITHER

Q.13

Q.11 If yes, what are their ages (include gender), and what do they do for a living?
Eldest sibling, giving their:
1/ GENDER, AGE, OCCUPATION, respectively
Second eldest sibling, giving their:
2/ GENDER, AGE, OCCUPATION, respectively
Third eldest sibling, giving their:
3/ GENDER, AGE, OCCUPATION, respectively
Fourth eldest sibling, giving their:
4/ GENDER, AGE, OCCUPATION, respectively

Q.12 a) Is your brother/sister's partner also a second generation Pole? YES
Brothers' partners: Sisters' partners NO
b) What nationality are they? (record for all siblings)
1/ 2/
3/ 4/

Q.13 Does your brother/sister ever socialise within the Polish community?
BROTHER/S Yes / No SISTER/S Yes / No

Q.14 You have already told me a little about your spouse/partner. Can I just confirm a few details?
a) Your partner is:
1) 2nd GENERATION POLE 2) NATIVE POLE 3) BRITISH, NON-WHITE
4) BRITISH, WHITE 5) EUROPEAN, NON-WHITE
6) EUROPEAN, WHITE 7) NON-EUROPEAN, WHITE
8) NON-EUROPEAN, NON-WHITE
9) IRISH NATIVE (or 2nd /3rd generation)
10) AMERICAN POLE 11) AMERICAN (other 2nd /3rd generation ethnic)
12) AFRCAN AMERICAN 13) AMERICAN (self-stated) 14) OTHER (specify)

b) And you are: MARRIED
NOT MARRIED

c)

c) Did you have a Polish marriage? YES
NO

Q.15 Are you a:
1) Practising Polish Roman Catholic? 2) Non-practising Polish Roman Catholic?
3) Neither? 4) agnostic? 5) any other religious affiliation?
6) Practising RC 7) prac. Catholic 8) prac. Irish RC 9) Non-prac. Irish RC
10) AMER: Prac. Polish National Catholic 11) AMER: Non-Prac. Polish National Catholic
Please state which categories in Q.15, best describes: YOU
1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6) 7) 8) 9) 10) [allocate one category for each] SPOUSE

Q.16 Did you go to church (regularly) as a child? [*Were you expected to go to church regularly as a child? What did this involve? Were both your parents insistent?*]
Tell me about this.

- 1) REGULARLY
- 2) OCCASIONALLY
- 3) NEVER
- 4) YES, BUT NEVER TO POLISH CHURCH (Only other Catholic ones)

Q.17 a) Do you have any opinions about the role of the Polish Church?

YES
NO

Q.18

b) If yes, what are they?

- 1) *POSITIVE FEELINGS*
- 2) *NEGATIVE FEELINGS*
- 3) *INDIFFERENCE*

Q.18 How important is/was religion, and the role of the Church to your (Polish) parents?

- 1) *BOTH VERY IMPORTANT*
- 2) *RELIGION, MORE THAN THE CHURCH*
- 3) *RÔLE OF THE CHURCH, FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT*
- 4) *NEITHER, THAT IMPORTANT*

Q.19 a) Tell me about the religious traditions that you as a family observed, when you were young?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1) CORPUS CHRISTIE | 2) ADVENT | 3) LENT |
| 4) ALL SOULS | 5) CONFIRMATION | 6) CATECHISM |
| 7) FIRST HOLY COMMUNION | | |

Q.19 b) What other Polish traditions did you observe? (e.g. 'namedays' instead of b'days):

- 1) NAMEDAYS (please specify whether both or either namedays / birthdays are celebrated)
- 2) EASTER (any, various Polish customs)
- 3) CHRISTMAS
- 4) FOOD - meals, other than at e.g. Christmas/Easter
- 5) LANGUAGE
- 6) AMERICAN (POLISH) PARADE DAY

Q.20 Which, if any, (religious or other) do you still observe today?

(Ask from those already listed - question 19 a and b).

RELIGIOUS

- 1) CORPUS CHRISTIE
- 2) ADVENT
- 3) LENT
- 4) ALL SOULS
- 5) CONFIRMATION
- 6) CATECHISM
- 7) FIRST HOLY COMMUNION

OTHER TRADITIONS

- 1) NAMEDAYS
- 2) EASTER
- 3) CHRISTMAS
- 4) FOOD
- 5) LANGUAGE
- 6) AMERICAN (POLISH) PARADE DAY

Q.21 a) Do you think that it is important to maintain these sorts of ties with your Polish roots?

- 1) *I think that they are all very important*
- 2) *I think that (only) cultural traditions are relevant in today's world*
- 3) *I think that all are relevant in today's world*
- 4) *I would like to maintain religious ones, but my partner does not want me to / objects*
- 5) *I would like to maintain cultural traditions, but my partner does not want me to / objects*
- 6) *I would like to maintain both sorts, but my partner does not want me to / objects*
- 7) *I am interested in them, but do not see them as part of my daily lifestyle*
- 8) *I consider them important, but still do not incorporate them into my lifestyle*
- 9) *I do not consider them really that important*

b) Which aspects, of your Polish roots, might you say are more important than others, to retain? Possible responses are:

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1) Extremely important | 2) Important | 3) Not very important | 4) Not imp. at all |
| 1) Going to Mass regularly | 2) Observing religious calendar customs | | |
| 3) Maintaining the RC faith | 4) Maintaining/learning Polish language & history | | |
| 5) Keeping food customs | 6) Contact with Polish community | | |
| 7) Keeping in contact with family in Poland | 8) Keeping aware of current affairs in Poland | | |

Q.22 Do you find it difficult to maintain these Polish customs and traditions, within your lifestyle?

- 1) *I maintain them all/most easily*
- 2) *I maintain them all/most with difficulty*
- 3) *I maintain some culture and religion traditions, fairly easily*
- 4) *I maintain some culture and religion traditions, with difficulty*
- 5) *I maintain some/most religion traditions only, fairly easily*
- 6) *I maintain some/most religion traditions only, with difficulty*
- 7) *I maintain some/most cultural traditions only, fairly easily*
- 8) *I maintain some/most cultural traditions only, with difficulty*
- 9) *I would like to maintain at least some traditions (cultural or religious), but too difficult*
- 10) *I maintain none, irrelevant to my lifestyle, only my parent's*

Now some general questions about you and your family

Q.23 How well do you feel that you can speak Polish?

- 1) *Fluently* 2) *Very well* 3) *Fairly well*
4) *Basic conversation* 5) *Very little* 6) *None at all*

[For those respondents answering 6), 'UK' skip to Q.26; 'US' skip to Q.25]

Q.24 How often do you get to speak Polish?

- EVERY DAY
SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK
ONCE A WEEK
ONCE A MONTH
LESS (please specify)
RARELY
NEVER
OTHER (please specify)

Q.25 a) Do you ever read the Polish papers?

- YES
NO Q.26

b) If yes, how often:

- EVERY DAY
WEEKENDS
OCCASIONALLY

Q.26 a) How interested are you in current developments in Poland?

- 1) I take a great deal of interest in Polish current affairs
2) I have a general interest, but do not follow it that closely
3) I have little interest in Polish affairs
4) I have no interest in any kind of Polish current affairs

b) Are there any (strong) opinions on why you have/ haven't any interest?

Q.27 Do you listen to the BBC local Polish radio show on CWR?

- YES
NO

- 1) *I listen to local US Polish stations* 2) *I don't listen to local US Polish stations*
3) *Sometimes / occasionally*

Q.28 Do you ever go to any Polish shows (eg Polish Folk Dancing, comedy)

- 1) *Regularly* 2) *Once a month* 3) *Occasionally*
4) *Very rarely* 5) *Never*

Q.28 a) Do you support, or are you a member of, any Polish Organisations:
In the UK
In the USA (fraternal, lodges etc.)

- YES
NO

Q. 29 Think of the friends you had when you were 14 or 15. How many were, like yourself, second generation Polish?

All of them
Most of them
 More than half
 About half
 Less than half
 One or two
 None at all

Q.30 a) Think of your closest 2/3 friends today. Are any of these Polish friends from your youth?

YES
 NO

b) If yes, than how many:

ALL
SOME
NONE

c) How many are Poles from your current general circle of friends?

All of them
Most of them
 More than half
 About half
 Less than half
 One or two
 None at all

d) How many of these are yours, and how many your partner's?

I have kept mine from my youth
 I have made my own new Polish (2nd gen.) friends
 I have accepted my partner's Polish friends as mine
 My partner is Polish, but does not mix with other Poles
 My partner is not Polish, and has no Polish friends

This last section is about your parents [their self-perceptions as Poles in the host country]

Q.31 a) What was your mother's occupation here in the UK?

[list job, with full description, code R.G. - SEG]

b) How did she feel about this / Was she happy with her perceived status? YES
 NO

Respondents to answer all the following regardless of response for b)

Did female respondent(s) feel/perceive any inequality as Pole(s) in?:

- 1) Their position in the labour market 2) Their overall treatment as women
- 3) Any opportunities afforded them by society, as compared with those in Poland
- 4) Being able to practise their religion (i.e. without ridicule from non-Poles)
- 5) Teaching their children their language and culture, did these have to take 'second place', in order for them and/or their children to get on in life

Please state to the best of your knowledge:

a.i) What first job was your father given/offered upon arrival to the UK/USA?
1) Coal mining 2) Heavy industry 3) Agriculture 4) Other

a.ii) What was father's main occupation or livelihood, before retiring?
[Record description of main occupation, and RG s/class schema]

a.iii) Did your father require any training for his main occupation?
1) Professional, medical 2) Technical (trade) training
3) On the job 'skilled' 4) On the job 'semi-skilled'
5)) On the job 'un-skilled'

b) How did he feel about this - Was he happy with his perceived status? YES
NO

- 1) *Their position in the labour market*
- 2) *Their overall treatment as men*
- 3) *Any opportunities afforded them by society, as compared with those in Poland*
- 4) *Being able to practise their religion (i.e. without ridicule from non-Poles)*
- 5) *Teaching their children their language and culture, did these have to take 'second place', in order for them and/or their children to get on in life*

a) Your father's profession in Poland, before the war?
[All first and second generation respondents to answer this question]

b) Your profession or proposed profession in Poland, before the war?
[Remember: this question is for all first generation respondents only]

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| 1) Were they made welcome: | BY THE STATE | YES / NO |
| | BY BRITISH/AMERICAN PEOPLE | YES / NO |
| 2) Were they treated badly: | BY THE STATE | YES / NO |
| | BY BRITISH/AMERICAN PEOPLE | YES / NO |

Q.35 a) Did they / you experience any racism? MOTHER _____
FATHER _____

1) Yes 2) No 3) Don't know
4) Yes, consistently throughout his/her early yrs here
5) More or less throughout his/her life here

Responses for 2nd Gen respondents only: MALE _____ FEMALE _____
 1) Yes I did, as 2nd Gen Pole 2) No, I didn't, as 2nd Gen Pole

[IF ANSWER WAS 'NO' TO Q.35, THEN SKIP Q.35 .b)]

Q.35 b) Did they feel that this made it more difficult to adjust to their new life?

1) Mother / First generation female

YES

NO

2) Father / First generation male

YES

NO

Q.36 a) What sort of problems, if any, did they have adjusting to their new lives?

GENERAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS: [social adjustment etc]

First generation female / Mother

YES

NO

First generation male / Father

YES

NO

GENERAL HEALTH PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES

NO

First generation male / Father

YES

NO

GENERAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES

NO

First generation male / Father

YES

NO

GENERAL CULTURAL PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES

NO

First generation male / Father

YES

NO

Q.36 b) Have any of these (adjustment) problems persisted over the years to the present day?

GENERAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES
NO

First generation male / Father

YES
NO

GENERAL HEALTH PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES
NO

First generation male / Father

YES
NO

GENERAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES
NO

First generation male / Father

YES
NO

GENERAL CULTURAL PROBLEMS:

First generation female / Mother

YES
NO

First generation male / Father

YES
NO

Q.37 a) Do they feel that such problems may have had any impact on, or affected, their health?

MOTHER / FIRST GENERATION FEMALE

YES / NO

If YES, significantly so?

YES / NO

Does your mother / first generation female:

- feel that the impact on health affected their quality of life?

YES / NO

FATHER / FIRST GENERATION MALE

YES / NO

If YES, significantly so?

YES / NO

Does your father / first generation male:

- feel that the impact on health affected their quality of life?

YES / NO

[Q.37 b) and Q.37 c) ARE ONLY FOR THE SECOND GENERATION]

Q.37 b) Do *you* feel that such problems may have had any impact on **their** health?

Your MOTHER

YES
NO

If YES, significantly so?

YES
NO

Your FATHER

YES
NO

If YES, significantly so?

YES
NO

c) Do you feel that these things (your parent's problems) may have had any impact on your health and lifestyle? If so, please explain

HEALTH

On your health

YES
NO

What kind of impact / effect?

POSITIVE
NEGATIVE
NEITHER

LIFESTYLE

On your lifestyle

YES
NO

What kind of impact / effect?

POSITIVE
NEGATIVE
NEITHER
OTHER

Q.38 Do your Polish parent(s) ever express any regrets over having to live in another country?

MOTHER / FIRST GENERATION FEMALE

YES

NO

FATHER / FIRST GENERATION MALE

YES

NO

Q.39 How do you see yourself, as a Pole, British, a British or American Pole? Please explain, and choose one of the following

POLE

BRITISH

BRITISH POLE

NEITHER

AMERICAN POLE

AMERICAN

POLISH AMERICAN

DISPLACED PERSON

OTHER

EUROPEAN

ENGLISH

Q.40 How important would you say, that your being (partly) Polish, is to you?

WHOLLY IMPORTANT

QUITE IMPORTANT

NOT VERY IMPORTANT

JUST A LITTLE

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL

[ASK THE NEXT QUESTION TO FEMALE SECOND Gen. RESPONDENTS ONLY]

Q.41 If your mother is / was Polish, did she feel that her own personal experiences had any specific or particular impact on her health and lifestyle?

Q.42 What future do you see for the Polish community in the UK / USA?

- 1) A BRIGHT FUTURE
- 2) A SLOWLY DYING ONE
- 3) NONE AT ALL
- 4) A CHANGING ONE FOR THE MIDLANDS, AS 1ST GENERATION DIES
- 5) *VERY MUCH AS IT IS NOW*
- 6) *DEPENDS ON INFLUX INTO THE (AMERICAN) NEIGHBOURHOOD*
- 7) *DEPENDS ON THE NATURE OF IMMIGRANTS INTO THE USA, AND HOW THEY ARE ACCEPTED AND RECOGNISED*
- 8) *I HAVEN'T REALLY GIVEN IT MUCH THOUGHT*

[ASK Q.43 TO THE FEMALE RESPONDENTS PMO, BPP ONLY]

Q.43 Please tell me about any aspect of your childhood upbringing, which is specific to you being female. What sorts of things might have been expected of you, and not from your brother, for example? Did your mother teach you anything about Polish folklore, medicine, or any other kinds of traditions?

Q.44 What sort of things were expected from you, and not your brother and/or sister?

- 1) To do my homework*
- 2) Brothers were expected to achieve more academically*
- 3) To always listen to my brother*
- 4) All of the above*
- 5) We were all treated as equals, and all expected to achieve*
- 6) Girls were treated better than boys (mostly) - in a respectful way, but still expected to achieve equally*
- 7) I was an only child, but expected to achieve*
- 8) I was an only child, but not pushed academically*
- 9) None of us were really pushed academically*

| | | | |
|--|--|---------|--|
| ED/OCC 1 | | Skip to | |
| Section Two: Educational Occupational Background | | | |
| I would now like to ask you a few questions about your educational b'ground. | | | |
| Q.1 Where did you go to primary school?

1) Roman Catholic (RC) 2) Church of England (CofE) 3) State school
4) Private boarding school 5) Elementary school 6) Polish RC Jr. High
7) Non-Polish RC J. High 8) Non-Polish RC J. High (Polish sch not avail.)
9) Secular Junior High school | | | |
| Q.2 Which school were you at after primary school? [Give name of school] | | | |
| Q.3 What type of school was it?

1) Grammar 2) Church of England 3) RC Secondary modern
4) Independent/private day 5) Independent/private boarding
6) Secondary modern (state) 7) RC grammar
8) Polish RC Senior High 9) Non-Polish RC Senior High
10) Non-Polish RC Senior. High - Polish school not available
11) Secular Senior High school
12) In part at school in Polish DP camp, in part at RC secondary modern schl | | | |
| Q.4 At what age did you leave school? | | | |
| [REMEMBER: Only 1 st Gen question in this section*]
Q. 5 Tell me about the qualifications you had when you left school?
<div>CSEs
O levels
A levels
NONE
Finished/graduated American Junior High school YES / NO
Finished/graduated American Senior High school YES / NO
*1st GEN: reached Polish equivalent of Senior H. graduation YES / NO</div> | | Q.6 | |
| Q. 6 After school, did you go on to any of the following? (Tick all which apply)

College of Further Education
Technical College
College of Education (eg Teacher Training Colleges)
Polytechnic
University
Apprenticeship
Armed Forces
Other
I returned to education later as a mature student
No formal training/education post schooling
Please tell me a little about this - | | | |

Q.7 Which Higher Qualifications did you obtain at any of the institutions, in Question 6?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1) Diploma (teaching) | 2) HND, OND | 3) City and Guilds |
| 4) B/TECH | 5) Other (armed forces) | 6) O levels, CSEs |
| 7) A levels / equivalent | 8) BA / BSc | 9) MA / MSc |
| 10) PhD | 11) Professional exams (PEI&II, ACII etc) | |

Q.8 a) Does your present job require any specific training?

YES
NO

b) If yes, what type of training (formal, 'hands on'. etc..)?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Professional / Medical | 2) Technical / Trade |
| 3) On the job skilled | 4) On the job semi-skilled |
| 5) On the job unskilled | 6) Other |

c) What was the last formal qualification you obtained, and when?

Q.9 How important was it for your parents, for you to succeed educationally?

- 1) Extremely important
- 2) Important
- 3) Not very important
- 4) Not important at all
- 5) Indifferent

Q.10 Can I briefly ask you just a few things about your sister(s) and/or brother's education.

a) Were your sisters and brothers (if any) encouraged to succeed educationally?

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) All the same | 2) Boys more than girls | 3) Girls more than boys |
| 4) First born child got preferential encouragement | | |
| 5) First born male got preferential encouragement | 6) All girls, encouraged | |
| 7) All girls, not really encouraged / pushed | 8) All boys, encouraged | |
| 9) All boys, not really encouraged / pushed | | |

NO OTHER SIBLINGS

b) What sort of qualifications did they obtain?

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1) O levels only | 2) O levels and A levels |
| 3) O levels, A levels and first degree / college diploma | 4) A levels and HND |
| 5) Higher degree (MA, MPhil etc) | 6) PhD |
| 7) Professional qualifications: MD, solicitor, accountant etc | 8) Other |
| 9) Junior High school graduation certificate | |
| 10) Senior High school graduation certificate | |
| 11) Higher degree or equivalent | |
| 12) PhD; bio/chemical; graduate equivalent training | |
| 13) Professional: MD; accountant; architect etc | |
| 14) Ecclesiastic profession /career choice | |

Now some questions about your (or any) Polish formal education.

Q. 11 Did you have any form of tuition at home regarding spoken and or written Polish?

- 1) Yes, to both 2) No, to both 3) Only language
4) Only very little language and written tuition 5) Private tuition

Q.12 a) Did your parents send you to Saturday School?

YES
NO

b) Did your parents send your brother(s) and/or sister(s)?

YES
NO

c) If YES to Q.12(a,b), what level did you (all) reach?

- Respondent: 1) O level 2) A level 3) S level
Siblings: 1) All O level only 2) All to O and A level 3) S level
4) No school available where we lived 5) US equivalent Junior certificate
6) US equivalent Senior certificate 7) US equiv. Junior & Senior certificates

d) If YES to Q.12 a), what did you think of it then?

Liked it
Did not like it
Did not mind it
Hated going to it

d) Do you have any particular recollections about Saturday School?

YES
NO

e) If YES, what are they?

f) What did (or do) your parents think of the Saturday School system in general?

- 1) Extremely good
2) Good
3) Not very good
4) Not good at all

g) Do *you* have any feelings / opinions on the subject nowadays?

- 1) Positive feelings
2) Negative feelings
3) Neither (meaning here is that respondent is fairly ambivalent to current set-up)
4) Same 'old guard' style that I encountered/experienced as a child

Q.13 I know that we may have touched on this earlier, but can you just confirm these details:

a) How many children do you have?

GIRLS
BOYS
NONE

b) Do they go to the local Saturday School?

YES
NO

c) Is there any particular reason why they do not go?

Q.14 a) Does your brother and/or sister live in the area?

YES
NO
No siblings

b) Where do they live?

Q.15 a) Do your brother and/or sister's children go to the Saturday school?
[Use one of the categories below to answer this question]

First sibling
Second sibling
Third sibling
Fourth sibling

- 1) YES 2) NO 3) USED TO, BUT NOT NOW (older now)
4) Not happy with the quality of teaching, so children do not go
5) Children (third generation) choose not to go themselves, preferring sports events
6) No school available where they live 7) No children at all

First generation response: Their children went to Polish Saturday school YES / NO

Q.16 How well would you say that your children speak Polish, and read Polish?

- 1) FLUENTLY (both) 2) VERY WELL 3) FAIRLY WELL
4) BASIC CONVERSATION 5) VERY LITTLE (of both)
6) NONE AT ALL
7) SPEAKS, READS, AND WRITES FLUENTLY
8) SPEAKS, READS, AND WRITES WELL
9) SPEAKS, READS, AND WRITES JUST AT BASIC LEVEL
10) NO CHILDREN AT ALL

Section 4: [using the "Diet , Lifestyle & Health In N. Ireland (1988); and the General Household Survey].

SMOKING

1. Which of the following best describes you?

[I will show them a card with the following]

1. I smoke every day
2. I smoke occasionally, but not every day
3. I used to smoke daily, but do not smoke at all now.
4. I used to smoke occasionally, but do not smoke at all now.
5. I have never smoked.

☐

**IF RESPONDENT HAS NEVER SMOKED PROCEED TO QUESTION 4.
IF RESPONDENT USED TO SMOKE, BUT DOES NOT SMOKE NOW,
GO TO QUESTION 2, AND THEN GO TO QUESTION 5. IF RESPONDENT
SMOKES, PROCEED TO QUESTION 3.**

2. a) Were you advised by a doctor to give up smoking?

1. YES

2. NO

☐

- b) For what period of time have you been a non-smoker?

1. 1 year or less

2. 3 years or less

3. 5 years or less

4. over 5 years

☐

- c) Did you smoke?

1. Filtered cigarettes

2. Unfiltered cigarettes

3. Other (please state which)

☐

- d) If you smoked cigarettes, how many a day did you smoke?

☐

3. a) Have you ever been advised by a doctor to give up smoking?

1. YES

2. NO

☐

Q.3 cont/.

b) Do you smoke?

1. Filtered cigarettes

4. Cigars

2. Unfiltered cigarettes

5. Roll-ups

3. Other (please state which) e.g. pipe

☐

c) If you smoke cigarettes, how many a day do you smoke? _____

d) If you smoke cigars/a pipe, how many/times a day do you smoke? _____

e) How old were you when you started to smoke? _____

f) What sorts of things tend to make you smoke more than usual?

1) Daily stress

2) Family problems (Polish-issues related)

3) General family problems

4) Daily stress and Polish issues

5) Nothing in particular, I just like to smoke

ALL RESPONDENTS TO ANSWER QUESTION 4.

4. a) Did your parents smoke when you were growing up?

1. Mother

2. Father

3. Both

4. Neither

☐

b) Do they smoke now (Tick one, if relevant)

1. Mother _____

3. Both _____

2. Father _____

4. Neither _____

☐

c) Do any of your siblings smoke? Or had they in the past?

*Eldest sibling**Second eldest sibling**Third sibling**Fourth sibling*Possible responses:

1) My sister/brother currently smokes

2) My sister/brother does not smoke

3) My sister/brother used to smoke, but not now

d) Do any of your closest friends smoke?

1) All

2) Some

3) None

e) Does your partner / spouse smoke?

YES / NO

ALCOHOL

5. How often, if ever, do you drink alcohol?

1. Once a week
2. More than once a week
3. Less than once a week
4. Just on special occasions
5. Never drink alcohol

☐

6. **ONLY ASKED TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO DRINK ONCE A WEEK' OR MORE OFTEN (1 or 2).**

a) What is your preferred drink?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Spirits (whisky, gin etc) | 4) Beer/lager |
| 2) Sherry (liqueurs) | 5) Wine and beer/lager |
| 3) Wine | 6) Not one preferred drink |
| 7) <i>Only 'Lite' beer/lager</i> | |

b) In a typical week, how much alcohol do you drink?

c) Do you tend to drink at home (with family, friends, on your own, at a pub etc.)?

- 1) *At home with family*
- 2) *At home alone*
- 3) *Regularly at the pub/club (with friends)*
- 4) *Regularly at the pub/club on my own)*
- 5) *With friends, socially but occasionally*

d) Do you think that your present level of alcohol drinking is harmful to your health?

1. YES
2. NO

3. NOT SURE

☐

ALL RESPONDENTS TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

7. a) Does your spouse drink?

YES / NO

b) What is their preferred drink?

- 1) Spirits (whisky, gin etc)
- 2) Sherry (liqueurs)
- 3) Wine
- 4) Beer/lager
- 5) Wine and beer/lager
- 6) Not one preferred drink
- 7) Only 'Lite' beer/lager

c) Do you ever go to the Polish Club, and drink there or perhaps just to socialise?

- 1) Often
- 2) Sometimes
- 3) Rarely
- 4) Never
- 5) Not an environment for women/children (like a WMC, too smoky)

Section Three: Psychological Morbidity (using the *GHQ*).**HAVE YOU RECENTLY:****1 been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing?**BETTER
THAN USUAL
☐SAME
AS USUAL
☐LESS
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
☐**2 lost much sleep over worry?**NOT
AT ALL
☐NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐**3 been having restless, disturbed nights?**NOT
AT ALL
☐NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐**4 been managing to keep your self busy and occupied?**MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐SAME
AS USUAL
☐RATHER LESS
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
☐**5 been getting out of the house as much as usual?**MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐SAME
AS USUAL
☐LESS
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
☐**6 been managing as well as most people would in your shoes?**BETTER
THAN MOST
☐ABOUT
THE SAME
☐RATHER LESS
WELL
☐MUCH LESS
WELL
☐**7 felt on the whole that you were doing things well?**BETTER
THAN USUAL
☐ABOUT
THE SAME
☐LESS WELL
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH
LESS WELL
☐**8 been satisfied with the way you have carried out your task?**MORE
SATISFIED
☐ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
☐LESS SATISFIED
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
SATISFIED
☐**9 been able to feel warmth and affection for those near to you?**BETTER
THAN USUAL
☐ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
☐LESS WELL
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
WELL
☐**10 been finding it easy to get on with other people?**BETTER
THAN USUAL
☐ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
☐LESS WELL
THAN USUAL
☐MUCH LESS
WELL
☐

11 spent much time chatting with people?

MORE TIME
THAN USUAL
☐

ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
☐

LESS TIME
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
☐

12 felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐

SAME
AS USUAL
☐

LESS USEFUL
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH LESS
USEFUL
☐

13 felt capable about making decisions about things?

MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐

SAME
AS USUAL
☐

LESS SO
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH LESS
CAPABLE
☐

14 felt constantly under strain?

NOT
AT ALL
☐

NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

15 felt that you could not overcome your difficulties?

NOT
AT ALL
☐

NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

16 been finding life a struggle all the time?

NOT
AT ALL
☐

NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

17 been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐

SAME AS
USUAL
☐

LESS SO
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
☐

18 been taking things hard?

NOT
AT ALL
☐

NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

19 been getting scared or panicky for no good reason?

NOT
AT ALL
☐

NO MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
☐

20 been able to face up to your problems?

MORE SO
THAN USUAL
☐

SAME
AS USUAL
☐

LESS ABLE
THAN USUAL
☐

MUCH LESS
ABLE
☐

21 found everything getting on top of you?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

22. been feeling unhappy and depressed?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

23. been losing confidence in yourself?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

24. been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

25. felt that life is entirely hopeless?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

26. been feeling hopeful about your own future?

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| MORE SO
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | LESS SO
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH LESS
HOPEFUL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|--|---|--|

27. been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| MORE SO
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | ABOUT SAME
AS USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | LESS SO
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH LESS
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|--|---|---|

28. been feeling nervous and strung-up all the time?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

29. felt that life isn't worth living?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

30. found at times that you could not do anything because your nerves were too bad?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOT AT
ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | NO MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | RATHER MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> | MUCH MORE
THAN USUAL
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---|---|---|

H&LS 1

(taken from the H&LS, section on 'health attitudes and beliefs')

Here are some more questions about your attitudes and beliefs, but with regards to health.

Q.1 a) Do you think it is ever people's own fault if they get ill?

YES

NO

Don't know/Not Sure

b) Why do you think it's their fault if they get ill?

RECORD VERBATIM. DO NOT PROBE OR PROMPT

Q.2. SHOW CARD On this card are things that people have said about health. I'd like you to say how far you agree with each statement. The answers you can give are shown at the top of the card. **READ OUT EACH ITEM AND CODE.**

[*LOC*i questions]

| STATEMENT | Strongly Agree | Agree | It all depends (don't know) | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|--|----------------|-------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| a) It's sensible to do exactly as the doctors say | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) To have good health is the most important thing in life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) 1st gen. Poles interpret illness according to folk medicine and cultural religious custom | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) Such beliefs (as in c) have no place/value in modern life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) Generally, health is a matter of luck | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) If you think too much about your health you are more likely to be ill | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g) If you become ill, it is because God is punishing you | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h) Suffering sometimes has a divine purpose | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| i) When you're ill, you tend to look for explanations from your (childhood) upbringing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| j) I have to be very ill before I will go to the | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q.3 How likely is it that healthy women/men of your age might develop a serious disease over the next 10 years? READ OUTis it....

CODE ONE
ONLY

very likely,
fairly likely,
fairly unlikely,
or very unlikely?
(Don't know)

Q.4 I'm going to read out some different kinds of disease and ask you what in your opinion causes them? RECORD ALL VERBATIM

a) What do you believe causes stomach ulcers?! then ask,

Do you consider that *these* categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT!)

Worry/Tension/Stress

Alcohol

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Bad diet

Fried/fatty foods

'Acid' foods

Irregular meals/shift work

lack of exercise

Family or heredity

Family/Cultural problems

Other (SPECIFY) i)

ii)

Don't know

b) - What do you believe causes chronic bronchitis? then ask,

- Do you consider that *these* categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT!)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Smoking

Overweight

Family or heredity

Damp weather or clothes

Weak chest/lungs

Air pollution

Working conditions

Family/Cultural problems

(SPECIFY) i)

ii)

Don't know

Question 4 cont./

RECORD ALL QUESTIONS VERBATIM!

c) What do you believe causes *high blood pressure*? then ask,

do you consider that these categories have any influence?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Smoking
 Worry/Tension/Stress
 Alcohol
 Type of diet
 Salt
 Overweight
 Lack of exercise
 Family or heredity
 Age
 Other (SPECIFY) i) Family/Cultural Problems
 ii) _____

Don't know

d) What do you believe causes *obesity or being overweight*?

do you consider that these categories have any influence?

Worry/Tension/Stress
 Alcohol
 Overeating
 Eating wrong foods
 Lack of exercise
 Family or heredity
 'Glands' or hormones
 Other (SPECIFY) i) Family/Cultural Problems
 ii) _____

Don't know

e) What do you believe causes *migraine*?

do you consider that these categories have any influence?

Worry/Tension/Stress
 Alcohol
 Foods, food allergy
 Family or heredity
 Pollution
 Environment (housing/local conditions)
 Other (SPECIFY) i) Family/Cultural Problems
 ii) _____

Don't know

f) What do you believe causes *liver trouble*? **RECORD VERBATIM!** then ask,

- do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Worry/Tension/Stress

Alcohol

Diet

Overweight

Family or heredity

Pollution

Other (SPECIFY) i) _____

ii) _____

Don't know

g) What do you believe causes *a stroke*? **RECORD VERBATIM!** then ask,

- do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Worry/Tension/Stress

Alcohol

Diet

Overweight

Lack of exercise

Family or heredity

Environment (housing/local conditions)

Old age

High blood pressure

Other (SPECIFY) i) *Family/Cultural problems* _____

ii) _____

Don't know

h) What do you believe causes *lung cancer*? **RECORD VERBATIM!** then ask,

- do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Smoking

Alcohol

Diet

Overweight

Lack of exercise

Family or heredity

Air pollution

Other pollutants/chemicals

Environment (housing/local conditions)

Other (SPECIFY) i) *Family/Cultural problems* _____

Don't know

- i) What do you believe causes *a heart attack/heart trouble*? then ask,
 - do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Smoking
 Worry/Tension/Stress
 Alcohol
 Wrong diet
 Fatty foods
 Overeating
 Obesity/Overweight
 Lack of exercise
 Over-exertion/sudden exercise
 Overworking

Other (SPECIFY) i) *Family/Cultural Problems* _____
 ii) _____

Don't know

- j) What do you believe causes *severe depression*? then ask,
 - do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Worry/Stress/Tension
 Family or heredity
 Loneliness
 Financial problems
 Attitude/give in to things
 Bereavement
 Marital problems/Divorce/Separation
 Family Relationships
 Menopause
 Childbirth
 Unemployment

Other (SPECIFY) i) *Family/Cultural Problems* _____
 ii) _____

Don't know

- k) What do you believe causes *piles and haemorrhoids*? then ask,
 - do you consider that these categories have any influence? (DO NOT PROMPT)

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Constipation
 Diet: low fibre/roughage
 Other bad diet
 Pregnancy
 Sitting on cold surfaces
 Sitting on wet surfaces

Other (SPECIFY) i) *Family/Cultural Problems* _____

Don't know

Q.5 Now I would like to ask you about your health. RECORD 'a)' VERBATIM

- a) Are there any things about your life now that you consider have a *good* effect on your health?

YES
NO
DON'T KNOW

- b) Do you consider that these have any influence?

CODE ALL
THAT APPLY

Able to get about
Environment / housing
Work

Financial / Standard of living / Income

Family / Marital relationships

Friends / Neighbours / social activity

Behaviour (smoking, drinking, exercise, etc..)

Cultural Background (maintaining links with Poles, Church, etc.)

Contentment

Other (SPECIFY) i) _____

ii) _____

Religion ONLY re culture

Q.6

RECORD a) VERBATIM

- a) Are there any things about your life now that you consider have a *bad* effect on your health?

YES
NO
DON'T KNOW

- b) Do you consider that these have any influence?

CODE ALL
THAT APPLY

Unable to get about
Environment / housing
Work

Financial / Standard of living / Income

Family or marital problems / relationships

Friends / Neighbours / social activity

Behaviour (smoking, drinking, exercise, etc..)

Cultural B'ground (trying to maintain links with Poles, Church, etc.)

Stress and worry

Other (SPECIFY) i) _____

Q.7 a) Do you feel that that you lead*READ OUT*.....

..... a very healthy life,
a fairly healthy life,
a not very healthy life,
or, an unhealthy life?
(Don't know)

CODE ONE ONLY

b) What makes you say this?

DO NOT PROMPT

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| GENERAL: | Never ill |
| | Feel fit |
| EXERCISE: | Take exercise |
| | Too little exercise |
| DIET: | Good diet |
| | Bad diet |
| HABITS: | Moderate habits generally |
| | Don't smoke (much) |
| | Smoke too much |
| | Don't drink (to excess) |
| | Drink too much |
| WORK/JOB: | Nature of job |
| | Bad work environment |
| ENVIRONMENT: | City environment |
| | Fresh air |
| SOCIAL COMMUNICATION: | Social support |
| | No social support |
| LIFESTYLE: | Presence of Polishness: |
| | the Church / religion |
| | Absence of Polishness: |
| | the Church / religion |

Other (SPECIFY): _____

Q.8 *THIS QUESTION TO ALL WOMEN ONLY (tick for appropriate generation)*

1st generation
2nd generation

a) What are your views on birth control?

Agree
Disagree
Refuse to answer (too personal a question)

b) Have you ever used, or are currently using, any method of birth control?

Q.9 a) Do you have any long-standing illness, disability or infirmity?

YES

NO

[IF NO, GO TO Q.10]

RECORD IN FULL

b) What is the matter with you? (note relevant category/ies below)

- | | |
|--|--|
| _____ : Arthritis / rheumatism | _____ : Thyroid disease (endocrine) |
| _____ : Back trouble (incl. slipped disc, lumbago, etc) | _____ : Hay fever, allergic conditions |
| _____ : Orthopaedic condition (excl. back trouble) | _____ : Skin disease, eczema, dermatitis |
| _____ : Heart disease, angina, ♥ attack etc | _____ : Sinusitis |
| _____ : High blood pressure | _____ : Blindness, partial sight, eye disease |
| _____ : Low blood pressure | _____ : Deafness, hard of hearing, ear disease |
| _____ : Stroke, arterial disease | _____ : Migraine, chronic headache |
| _____ : Bronchitis, emphysema | _____ : Liver disease |
| _____ : Asthma | _____ : Varicose veins |
| _____ : Respiratory (tuberculosis-TB) | _____ : Anaemia, blood disorder |
| _____ : Any other respiratory disease | _____ : Kidney disease |
| _____ : Stomach ulcer | _____ : Paraplegia (partial body paralysis) |
| _____ : Other gastro-intestinal disease | _____ : Epilepsy convulsions |
| _____ : Genito-urinary disease, other than ulcer bladder trouble | _____ : Other disease of the nervous system |
| _____ : Diabetes | _____ : Mental disorders |
| _____ : Gout | _____ : Depression |
| _____ : Hernia | _____ : Anxiety |
| _____ : Other, (state which ailment) | _____ : Cancer |
| | _____ : Gynaecological (polycystic ovaries) |
| | _____ : Gynae, other |

c) Tell me something about this illness / condition. In what ways do you think that this affects you?

RECORD VERBATIM

Q.10 a) Have you ever had asthma?

If YES, probe:

b) Has it ever been treated by a doctor or hospital?

REPEAT a) AND b) FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW.

| | a / b RESPONDENT | | | d) RING CODES
IF EITHER
PARENT HAS
SAID ILLNESS | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| | No | Yes
treated | Yes, <u>not</u>
treated | | |
| Asthma | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Chronic Bronchitis | | | | | |
| Other chest trouble | | | | | |
| Diabetes | | | | | |
| Stomach/ digestive disorder | | | | | |
| Piles or haemorrhoids | | | | | |
| Liver trouble | | | | | |
| Rheumatic disorders or arthritis | | | | | |
| Heart trouble | | | | | |
| Lung cancer | | | | | |
| Other cancer | | | | | |
| Severe depression, nervous illness | | | | | |
| Stress and/or anxiety | | | | | |
| Varicose veins | | | | | |
| High blood pressure | | | | | |
| Stroke | | | | | |
| Migraine | | | | | |
| Vitamin deficiency | | | | | |
| (severe) malnutrition | | | | | |
| Gynae related illness | | | | | |
| Back trouble | | | | | |
| Epilepsy / fits | | | | | |

c) Have either of your parents had any of the above conditions? YES
NO
Don't know

IF 'YES' (CODE 1 AT C)

**d) Which of these conditions have either of your parents had?
REPEAT FOR PARENTS & CODE IN COLUMN d) ABOVE**

e) i Have you, or either of your parents, had to attend an outpatient's or ER department n the last 3 months?

ii If YES, which of you, and what for?

Q.11 Within the last month, have you suffered from any problem with....

| | Yes | No |
|---|-----|----|
| Headaches? | | |
| Hay fever? | | |
| Difficulty sleeping? | | |
| Constipation? | | |
| Trouble with eyes? | | |
| Within the <u>last month</u> , have you suffered from any problems with | | |
| A bad back? | | |
| Nerves? | | |
| Colds and flu? | | |
| Trouble with feet (CORNS, BUNIONS, ATHLETE'S FOOT, ETC.)? | | |
| Always feeling tired? | | |
| Within the <u>last month</u> , have you suffered from any problems with | | |
| Kidney or bladder trouble? | | |
| Painful joints? | | |
| Difficulty concentrating? | | |
| Palpitations or breathlessness? | | |
| Trouble with ears? | | |
| Within the <u>last month</u> , have you suffered from any problems with | | |
| Worrying over every little thing? | | |
| Indigestion or other stomach problem? | | |
| Sinus trouble or catarrh? | | |
| Persistent cough? | | |
| Faints or dizziness? | | |
| <u>ASK WOMEN ONLY UNDER 60 (ie - 1st gen. only)</u> | | |
| Within the last month, have you suffered from any trouble with | | |
| Periods or the menopause? | | |

If YES, let respondent expand on this:

Q.12 a) Have you ever felt depressed?

YES
NO

Q.13

b) What did you do about it?

Q.13 Would you go to see your G.P. if you were feeling depressed?

YES
NO

Q.14 When was the last time you went to see your G.P.?

Q.15 a) Have you had any illnesses in the last two weeks?

YES
NO

b) If YES, how did you deal with them?

Q.16 a) How often do you feel that you are under so much strain that your health is likely to suffer?

CODE ONE ONLY

..... always
often
sometimes
or, never?

b) How often do you feel bored READ OUT

..... always
often
sometimes
or, never?

c) How often do you feel lonely READ OUT

..... always
often
sometimes
or, never?

Q.17 About how many hours of sleep do you usually get?

CODE ONE ONLY

less than 6 hours

6 hours, less than 7 hours

7 hours, less than 8 hours

8 hours, less than 9 hours

9 hours, less than 10 hours

10 hours

more than 10 hours

Don't know

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS MAY APPEAR TO BE SIMILAR TO SOME ALREADY ASKED, BUT THESE ARE IN RELATION TO HEALTH

Q.- a) As you were growing up, do you remember your Polish parent(s) ever talking about their migratory or refugee experiences?

YES
NO

b) If yes, can you tell me what they talked about? **RECORD VERBATIM.**

c) When they recalled these experiences, were they?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Emotional
Resentful
Animated
Resigned
Excited
Depressed
Melancholy

Other (SPECIFY) i)
ii)

Unsure / don't know

d) Do (or if relevant, did) your Polish parent(s) feel that such experiences may have had an effect on their health? (ie probe for perceived specifics: illnesses; general quality of life etc..)

RECORD VERBATIM

ASK THIS NEXT QUESTION (e) TO FEMALE RESPONDENTS ONLY

- e) If your mother is/was Polish, did she feel that her experiences had any particular impact on her health and lifestyle?

RECORD VERBATIM

- f) Do YOU think that such experiences may have had an impact on your parent's health?

YES
NO

RECORD VERBATIM

- g) If not, do you believe that other (e.g environmental) factors here in the UK may have affected your (Polish) parent's lifestyle, and/or their health?

YES
NO

RECORD ALL RESPONSES VERBATIM

g) i) Do you think that your awareness of these experiences and/or hardships may have had any impact on *your* life? (DO NOT PROMPT)

YES
NO

ii) In what ways do these (such) experiences and/or hardships, may have affected you? (ie how have you dealt with them?)

h) Do you think that any part of your Polishness, or your cultural background, may have in any shape or form impacted on your perceived quality of life, (and hence on your health)?

YES
NO

i) Do you think that your perceived quality of life, (and hence your health), may have been enhanced by your Polishness or cultural background?

YES
NO